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HAYYA ʿALĀ-L-FALĀḤ

An invitation to enduring good, to the attainment of that upon which one's heart is set as worthy to be desired and to a state of secure perpetuity therein—such is the meaning of this re-iterated phrase within the Muslim call to prayer. "There is not in the language of the Arabs," says the lexicographer Lane, "any word more comprehensive in its significations of what is good in the present life and in the final state than *falāḥ*." "Come ye unto the good."

Islam is seen and interpreted by many contemporary Muslims as expressive of the Kingdom of God, as the clue and the means to human good within the Divine intention. Discernible in the shape of events themselves in the Muslim East and enunciated in scores of books and articles is the urge to demonstrate to the world at large the practical validity of Islam as the good life, after which men universally grope and which the West in its misguidedness has failed either to identify or to attain. Movements after social welfare and reform in the community, after a new quality of achievement, and strenuous efforts to bring, out of the Islam that is, the Islam that ought to be, as well as deep searchings of heart in the criticism of the one and the realisation of the other—all these are manifest in the current activity of Muslim political and intellectual life. All these writers and leaders within contemporary Islam are consciously pursuing and renewing the age-long call of the *mu'adhdhin: Ḥayya ʿalā-l-falāḥ*.

To those ardent aspirations after good—secure good—how intimately the Christian faith speaks, or might speak, were its servants close enough and its relevance less unsuspected. For the call of the minaret as thus interpreted has resemblance to a call that echoes confidently through the New Testament. "Lay hold on eternal life" cried the Apostle. "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly" were the words of Jesus, the Christ. That the Kingdom of God was at hand in the person of the Savior and that it was open to all who sought it on its terms—this was the Gospel, the good news, which Jesus came preaching. Where-ever, then, in the world men hear a summons within their souls or from their history, a summons to arise and seek, to pass out of the unworthy into the true, and aspire after the good which abides when all else is transient, there, too belongs the word of the Gospel, there be-

longs the Church, in patience, honesty, fervency and love. The import of Christ, as Christians find Him, is for just such aspirations.

What is the essential Christian witness to the seeker after good? If, at our response, we have found God in Christ adequate to satisfy the echoing cry in our own hearts to His summons unto Himself, what have we to tell?—a telling that is neither condescending nor censorious: but reverent towards our fellows and infinitely grateful toward God. Is it not that in the diagnosing words and saving deeds of Christ we have learned that our need is not only law, but grace, nor merely light, but power: that the criticism of what we are in the name of what God wills us to be means penitence and requires redemption: that God Himself has sublimely acted to restore us unto good and that the Cross is the measure of the cost? Through Him we have discovered the radical wrongness in our hearts, and our being righted we know to be a work of the Divine Spirit made effective through our submission to His redeeming love. "He died," we sing, in the utmost simplicity of childhood which here is also the wisdom of the saints—"He *died* to make us good." And so it follows that the good life in society turns upon the good life in the soul. These truths are the gist of any Christian diagnosis of our human needs both East and West, and how we find them met and satisfied.

And that yearning after continuity in good to which the *mu'adhdhin* is so wisely bidden to call—how have we found it answered, save in the resources of the Holy Spirit and in the eternal assurance of God Himself? For this world, we know full well, is not the world for worldliness. The good we seek must partake of eternity. How precarious in this transitory life would be the welfare of the sheep, unless secured in the fact of the Shepherd! Was not that metaphor the tenderest, as it was the most characteristic, feature of the New Testament awareness of God in Christ, even in the catacombs?

Who then shall say that, in a world which today so nervously apprehends its doom in the welter of its doing, there is not deep meaning in this cry of the *Ādhān: Ḥayya 'alā-l-falāḥ?* And who in Christ will forbear to make his witness that when he obeyed it, it led him to a place called Calvary and to a goodly fellowship as secure as God Himself? For we come unto good—unto God, known and loved,—because He for His part comes seeking. In Christ we recognise this Divine Will to be accessible; we discover that He is Himself the satisfier as well as the author of our search. The soul wrestling with the quest of good is itself grasped in the answer.

'Tis Love! 'Tis Love! Thou diest for me:
I hear Thy whisper in my heart . . .
To me, to all, Thy mercies move,
Thy Nature and Thy Name is Love.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF PAKISTANI CULTURE

A PAPER PRESENTED TO THE COLLOQUIUM ON ISLAMIC CULTURE

The homogeneity of all Islamic peoples is one of the most striking features of the influence of Islam. A common idealism has not only affected their outlook on life; it has fashioned its very pattern. Islam does not divide life into watertight compartments; it claims the entire allegiance of its followers. Hence it is all-pervading in character and affects all aspects of human activity. As a consequence, the uniformity of all Muslim peoples is far more striking than their diversity. This is true, to a remarkable extent, of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent as well; the impress of Islam on them is deep and real, and they are no unworthy members of the large Muslim fraternity. Their outlook on life, their way of living, their tastes and inclinations are essentially Muslim and their long domicile among a people with different outlook, traditions and culture has not affected the essentially Muslim characteristics of Indian Islam. If the preponderant un-Islamic influence played any part, it was in putting the Indian Muslim on his guard and making him more conscious of the need of preserving his heritage from being engulfed in the rising tide of resurgent Hinduism. Thus it would be futile to try to find any fundamental differences in creed or in the code of social and individual behaviour between Indian Islam and Islam in other regions; yet it would be an exaggeration to say that the Indian Muslims do not possess a strong individuality.

This individuality was rooted in the catholicity of Islam. It may sound paradoxical, yet it is a fact that on the one hand Islam claims the entire allegiance of man and on the other it leaves a vast field of human activity free from all shackles. Where the mind would benefit from following its own inclinations and exploring new avenues, it has been left free. It was this freedom which resulted in the creative tendencies of Muslim civilization and laid the foundations of scientific objectivity in the thought of the world. Before Spanish intolerance in the West and Mongol fury in the East shook the very bases of Islamic culture, Islam had held aloft the torch of inquiry and learning. The decadence brought about by the loss of trade and territory dried up the very fountains of Muslim thought-streams and produced stagnation, which erroneously came to be identified with Islam itself in the popular mind. When Islam entered India, it was, in spite of approaching decadence, still virile. It had not lost its spirit of inquiry, its insatiable thirst for knowledge, its childlike inquisitiveness. Muslims in India started with a clean slate. They did not suffer from any complexes regarding race or colour. Within the fold of Islam the Negro and the European, the Arab and the Dravidian were alike.

Every convert was a brother, every human being was worthy of conversion, hence all races and peoples were equal in the sight of the Muslim. The pride of the conqueror was softened by the desire to bring the conquered into the camp of Islam. The Muslim was proud of Islam and its ideology, but not of his race. Racially the conquered Hindu was different, but not inferior. Hence the noblest in the realm, even the monarch, did not disdain to marry Hindu maidens, who accepted the religion of their husbands but could not wipe out all traces of their culture and thought. Nor was there any desire among the Muslims that their Hindu wives should forget their entire past, they tolerated traces of Hindu traditions so far as they did not come into conflict with Islam.

Muslim tolerance, inquisitiveness and social catholicity produced the right atmosphere for cultural contacts with the Hindus, who were inheritors of a hoary civilization themselves. Even before the conquest of India by Muslims, the Arabs had trade and cultural relations with the Hindus. When Muḥammad ibn Qāsim (8th cent. A.D.) conquered Sind, this contact increased, and Arab geographers and writers were interested in the land of the Indus. The 'Abbāsids, the period of whose glory was the apogee of cultural progress in Eastern Islam, held liberal views about the learning and sciences of other nations and the Jew, the Greek, the Hindu was alike welcome in their courts if he had some contribution to make. The famous Barmecides were themselves of Buddhist origin. This catholic tradition was inherited by the Turkish conquerors of India and maintained by them throughout their rule. When Maḥmūd's armies were penetrating farther and farther (11th cent.), the famous Al-Bīrūnī was carrying on patient research in India which he incorporated in his well-known book *Kitāb ul-Hind* (Book of India). It would be difficult to find a more sympathetic, thorough-going, correct and impartial compendium of information written about an alien people by any scholar, whose own outlook on life was so utterly different. Amīr Khusraw (14th cent.), a Turk of mixed parentage and one of the greatest figures in the realm of Persian literature and poetry, assiduously cultivated a taste for Hindu culture. His glowing descriptions of Hindu learning, his devotion to Hindu music and his understanding of Hindu ethics all show his regard for the Hindu outlook on life. Fīrūz Shāh (14th cent.), Sikandar Lodī (15th cent.), Akbar (16th cent.) and various other monarchs employed scholars to translate Hindu works into Persian. Muslim poets sometimes wrote Hindi poetry and Malik Muḥammad Jāyasī, 'Abd-al-Raḥīm Khānkhānā and Kabīr rank among the greatest of Hindi poets. The impact with Islam brought about a great renaissance in Hinduism which resulted in the great Bhaktī movement.

All this shows that there was great cultural contact between the Muslims, and the Hindus; and Muslims, while firmly relying on the truth of Islam and fully conscious of the greatness of their own culture and tradition, were not averse to the adoption of such features of Hindu culture as could be brought into harmony with their idealism and needs. Anything which was antagonistic to their beliefs or ideas was severely discarded. The Muslims in India never permitted any impurities to creep into their doctrine, nor did they allow their new environment to affect their orientation. They were helped in this effort by the great contrast between Islam and Hinduism. The result was that the process of assimilation of Hindu characteristics by Indian Islam was confined to the mere superficialities of life. In all deeper matters, the Indian Muslim was no different from other Muslims. The only exception was that of language. For theological and academic purposes, Arabic was used; the language of the administration was Persian; and as the rulers were mostly of Turkish origin, the use of Turkish was never given up by the court. But their close contact with the people brought into existence a new language, which adopted the grammatical structure of the Prakritic language of North India and retained a large percentage of Arabic, Persian and Turkish words. This language was sometimes called Urdū (the language of the camp) and sometimes Hindī (the language of the Hindus). Hindu scholars had taken up the study of Persian and Arabic fairly early; indeed we hear of Hindu professors lecturing in Muslim colleges in the 14th century, and under Sikandar Lodi (15th cent.) we find that education in Arabic and Persian became extensively popular among the Hindus. From the very beginning the Hindus had supplied the majority of the revenue bureaucracy of the Muslim Empire; they soon discovered that their prospects of promotion were greatly advanced by an ability to read and write Persian. This movement was so advanced by the time that Akbar came to the throne that he abolished the system of duplicate registers in the local subdivisions where accounts were kept in Persian as well as Hindi, because now the knowledge of Persian was fairly widespread. This made the new language popular among the Hindus as well.

The break-up of the Sultanate of Delhi (14th cent.) saw the establishment of several provincial dynasties which flourished until their reconquest by the Mughul Empire (17th cent.). Even when the Empire was strong, certain provincial governments, in recognition of the different traditions and geographical features of outlying areas, were given greater power and they encouraged local cultures. The first patrons, for instance, of the Bengālī language and literature were the Muslim rulers of Bengal and the earlier Bengālī translations of

Hindu scriptures are dedicated to Muslim potentates. Perhaps the greatest contribution of the Muslims to the welfare of India was that they liberated the masses from the tyranny of Sanskrit classicism and encouraged the popular languages, hitherto considered vulgar. The results were naturally revolutionary and spectacular. Awakened into new life, the Hindus grew eager to assimilate new ideas, and, under the patronage of the Mughuls, Muslim mannerisms, idioms, ideas and etiquette became fashionable.

This gave Muslims added confidence in the excellence of their culture and fortified them further in their own idealism. Actually the influence of Islam on Hindu culture was so great that only towards the end of the 19th century, did the tide begin to turn. The Indian Muslim who, by constant endeavour, had tried to forge bonds of unity felt the first premonitions of their dissolution. He had held to the essentials of Islamic culture and was tenaciously loyal to the demands of his faith, but in other spheres he had gone more than halfway to meet the Hindu. He had almost entirely discarded his notions of music and had fallen a victim to the charms of Hindu classical music. It is true that his notions survived in popular strains, but even these depended for ultimate sanction on the canons propounded by the Hindu masters. He had kept the forms and symbolism of his poetry, but had permitted Hindu subtlety to creep into its very spirit. His notions of architecture were broadly Muslim; but he had allowed native masons to introduce Hindu features and motifs into all his buildings, even into the niche of the mosque which he faced while praying. Indian influence had crept into Muslim dress, even into Muslim cuisine. An essentially Islamic vocabulary consisting of Arabic, Persian and Turkish words had sought the help of Prakritic grammar to make its syntax intelligible to the people of India. The Muslim had sacrificed the much easier, simpler, more regular and logical forms of Persian verbs and propositions to win the understanding of the Hindu. In doing all this, he had remained a Muslim, but he had ceased to be an Arab, a Turk, a Persian, or an Afghan. He became an Indian Muslim; he developed his own individuality; he became conscious of his own culture. In this culture, he had come to look upon the cultured sections of the Hindus as his partners. He had made no compromise in the matter of his own religious beliefs; he did not expect the Hindus to compromise their religious beliefs. He understood Hindu orthodoxy, he tolerated Hindu insistence on looking upon the Muslim as unclean, as outside the pale of interdining. For all this he bore no ill-will, because he believed that a common political life and cultural outlook provided ample scope for cooperation. He built up a tradition of toleration which provides very few parallels in history. The Maratha, Rajput and Sikh rebellions

against Mughul rule shook the very foundations of the handiwork of generations who had built a structure of goodwill, but they did not succeed in demolishing the noble edifice.

However, when with the emergence of the British rule, the spell of Muslim domination was broken, the Muslim hugged the memory of a glorious past but the Hindu naturally changed his orientation. With the same zeal as he had shown for Muslim culture, he took to Western education. Just as the impact of Islam had resulted in some conversions, Christianity began to win converts. Just as Islam had been responsible for the rise of cults which sought to bring about compromise between the religion of the conqueror with the faith of the conquered, there arose, as the result of Christian influence, movements which tried to reform Hinduism in the light of Christian thought. Orthodox Hinduism replied by revivalism, and in its anxiety to shake off all extraneous influence it did not distinguish between Muslim and Christian. Indeed there seemed to be some reason for adopting Western notions, because now they were considered to be progressive, but what reason could prevent the Hindu iconoclast from purging Hinduism of Muslim influence? The history of Hinduism in the last century is a record of revivalist movements which have turned the Hindu mind to the ancient pre-Muslim glory of India. In song, classicism was born again and the *ghazal* and *qawwalī* grew unpopular, though the monstrosities of film songs were appreciated, which are travesties of European swing music. In art, the painter turned to Ajanta for inspiration, though the Mughuls had gone much farther ahead. In architecture, the arch and the dome were discarded, the trabeate forms of pre-Islam were revived. In language, the Prakritic structure was kept, but words of Muslim origin were eschewed. The Arabic script introduced by the Muslims was discarded in favour of the Sanskritic Deva-Nāgrī. Thus the bridges which the Muslim had taken seven hundred years to build were burnt and in their place was left the deep, dark gulf.

These happenings had their political repercussions, but their cultural and social results were even more important, because they were responsible for the political cleavage which ultimately resulted in the emergence of Pakistan.

The Muslim, in his endeavor to evolve an Indo-Muslim culture, had Indianised himself. The Indo-Muslim culture had a definite entity, though it varied considerably in its intensity. The core of this culture was Islam, and its outer fringe faded into the surrounding world of Hinduism. Its domain can be compared to a series of concentric circles, its intensity decreasing with the increase of distance from the centre. The centre was Islam, the distance should be interpreted as remoteness from Islamic feeling. Yet if we let alone religious

belief, this culture, at one time, held sway in varying degrees over the whole of India. When the Hindus, conscious of new opportunities, started movements to revive pre-Muslim forms of culture, the Muslim was left alone. He was isolated. Indo-Muslim culture was his creation; it was now the very blood of his vital veins. In so far as he was Indianised, he had become a distinct group in the world of Islam; in so far as he was a Muslim, he was a distinct group in India. He had his connections with two worlds—the world of Islam and the world of India. With the world of Islam, the relationship was spiritual, which continues even today. With India, his relations were physical, political and cultural. The physical relationship continued, because he still lived in India and because of the size of his group he could not leave it. He lost political power in India, the cultural ties with the Hindus were broken by Hindu revivalism. The Indian Muslims thus emerged as a distinct cultural group, isolated, without political or economic power, but with a record of great historical achievements. They were weak, but they formed one-fourth of the entire population of India.

It is in the nature of revivalism that its dreams of the future are based on the memories of the past. The ideal of the Hindu revivalist was the India of the pre-Muslim past; the future development, therefore, had to take place on strictly Hindu lines. In the picture of such a future, Indian Muslim or Indo-Muslim culture could find no place. They had, according to certain thinkers, to be absorbed, as Hinduism had absorbed many a people and cult before. Others believed in ignoring them altogether. The Muslims themselves showed every symptom of decay. They were disorganised and weak. Their economic power was negligible, because they had failed to adapt themselves to new conditions. Educationally they were backward; their own educational system had withered away because it no longer enjoyed the patronage of the Government and they were too proud and too suspicious to take kindly to the new system in the beginning. They had lagged behind, and the distance went on increasing. Poverty, ignorance, backwardness grow unless checked; it was no one's concern to arrest the decay; the task was too great for the Muslims themselves. Their resistance, it seemed, would soon break down; their consciousness would disappear.

This might have proved true. It may even now prove true in India. In a hundred years, perhaps in a shorter time, the Muslim people may cease to exist in that country. But the majority of the Indian Muslims were not in a mood to accept absorption. They wanted to live. Therefore, they resisted all efforts to undermine their existence. To the Hindu revivalism their response was to strengthen their bonds with the pristine Islamic sources of their culture. Their

language today has a larger percentage of Persian and Arabic words; they are intolerant of social customs which are Hindu in origin. The Reformist movements in Islam naturally aimed at restoring the pristine purity of doctrine and practice. If the Hindu looked upon the pre-Muslim past as his golden age, the Muslim replied by idealising the achievements of his ancestors in India. The tale of Muslim conquest, looked upon by the Hindus as the story of national humiliation, was to the Muslim the record of the glory of his forefathers. All this brought about an estrangement in the relations of the Muslims with the Hindus which made the Muslims conscious of being a separate entity. As such they developed a strong sense not only of possessing a different religion, but also of a different social system and culture. The Islamic elements of this system and culture, never weak, were strengthened by the change in the outlook of the Hindus which had been growing more pronounced during the last decades. The fact that the Muslim people in India were a separate entity expressed itself more visibly in dress, in domestic and public architecture, in language, in poetry, in utensils of daily use and in customs and manners. As Muslim opinion became more articulate, it tended to emphasise this truth. Westernisation did not check this process, because it did not affect the springs of group consciousness either of the Hindus or of the Muslims. It only accentuated the feeling by its emphasis on grouping humanity into nationalities. The Hindus found in the doctrine of Indian nationalism an opportunity to consolidate their position, because they hoped to hold all the resources of the State with the help of their numbers, economic strength and superior education. The Muslims discovered that they were a nation by themselves. Hindu revivalism left them in possession of all the distinctive characteristics of a separate nation.

To the student of sociology, this is a significant phenomenon, because it was inevitable. An ancient people like the Hindus could not permanently reconcile themselves to the superiority of a culture whose foundations rested upon ideas alien to their philosophy, and therefore their revolt was intelligible and logical. The reaction shows that without a fundamental unity in ideals and outlook on life and a strong group sense even centuries of education on the part of rulers, thinkers, poets and saints cannot forge bonds strong enough to build peoples into a single entity.

The emergence of a separate culture could not but have political consequences. The Muslims in India started with demands for separate representation and safeguards, but they soon discovered the futility of such measures and ultimately developed the conviction that nothing short of political independence could guarantee their existence as a distinct entity. Fortunately there were well defined

geographical areas where they formed the majority. They demanded that these areas should form a separate country and their determination won them this cherished goal which today stands fulfilled in Pakistan.

The Pakistanis believe that they have glorious traditions of culture which they can further enlarge and develop. They maintain that their history has demonstrated their innate love of tolerance and liberalism, and, therefore, in a world where these virtues are at a discount, it is their duty to re-emphasise them by practising them in their own lives and upholding them in the world. The balance and proportion combined with lofty idealism and sense of beauty which their architecture has embodied for the world to witness can yet make the nation the architect of a future which will bring peace and happiness to themselves and good cheer to those who come into contact with them. Their leaders are never tired of repeating their ambition of basing the life of the nation on the Islamic principles of the brotherhood of man, tolerance, democracy and social justice. The Pakistanis are overwhelmingly Muslims and it is but natural that their national life and ideals will be fashioned by the ideology of Islam. This does not mean that non-Muslim minorities will be persecuted or deprived of the opportunity to live their lives in accordance with their own ideals and ways of thought. They are treated as equal partners in the polity and enjoy the fullest freedom in all religious and cultural matters, having been given the widest scope for development in these spheres. Islam itself ordains tolerance and generosity to the non-Muslim citizens of a predominantly Muslim State. The non-Muslim minorities are given all opportunities to enrich the life of the nation by their contributions in every walk of life. Islamic culture has never been exclusive and, at every stage of its development, non-Muslim citizens have made lasting contributions. The same spirit guides the Pakistanis.

The insistence of the Pakistanis on the spiritual and ethical principles enunciated by Islam has led their detractors to say that Pakistan is a theocratic state. Nothing could be farther from the truth. A theocracy is generally understood to mean the intolerant rule of an ordained priesthood who rule in the name of God because they occupy a special position in this capacity as His ministers. Such a conception of government is foreign to the Pakistani nation and also to Islam, which does not tolerate any form of priesthood. The Government has non-Muslim ministers, functionaries and legislators who participate in all deliberations and activities on a basis of complete equality. The legal system of a people and the trends of its public life must necessarily be the product of its ideals and beliefs, but this is so in every country. If theocracy is taken in its literal sense

and considered to be the rule of God, then, to a believer, the entire universe is a theocracy; but if the term implies intolerance or the rule of a class of priests, such a form of government not only does not exist in Pakistan but is also impossible. If the accusers mean that the people of Pakistan believe in certain spiritual and ethical values, then the nation must plead guilty to the charge. The Pakistanis do believe that government cannot be successfully divorced from all ideals; they further hold that if the peoples of the world draw greater inspiration from the great truths of their religious or moral philosophies, it will result in greater happiness to humanity; and they staunchly believe that the principles enunciated by Islam can bring peace, tolerance and charity into a world distraught with narrow selfishness, immoral competition and blind greed. The pursuit of these ideals does not make Pakistan a theocracy; nor does it mean that the Pakistanis find no value in the progress that the world has made during all these centuries. It is their firm belief that the eternal truths of religion must be consistently re-interpreted for application to the changing needs of the world. One of the great Muslim leaders of the sub-continent, Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, not only established a modern University teaching Western sciences and arts, along with Islamic theology and history, but he also gave a new and modernistic interpretation to some of the Islamic beliefs and traditions as early as the third quarter of the 19th century. The intelligentsia have growingly accepted his views and other scholars—of whom Amir 'Alī and Iqbāl were the foremost—have carried his work much further. Thus the people of Pakistan have inherited liberal and progressive tendencies which, instead of weakening their faith, have strengthened it. It is for that reason that the Muslim nation is eager to practise and learn all that science and modern knowledge have to offer. As Muslims the Pakistanis believe in absolute values and the inviolability of the rights of individuals; as a modern nation they want to participate in human progress to the fullest extent.

I. H. Qureshi,
Minister of Education,
Pakistan

Karachi

SOCIAL REFORM IN EGYPT

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO RURAL AREAS

A PAPER PRESENTED TO THE COLLOQUIUM ON ISLAMIC CULTURE

Our topic for discussion—social reform—is, to my mind, the right avenue to real understanding. It is an area on which we cannot afford to differ. For here we deal with universal needs and aspirations. At the same time, it is a very difficult field of work. For here we face the complexities of human nature and the basic social and economic problems of society in their most intricate form. Such problems cannot be experimented with under laboratory conditions. They cannot be subjected to the exactness of statistical calculations and mechanical control. The challenge we meet, however, is more than worthwhile, since the ultimate and sublime goal of all human effort is to achieve true and meaningful happiness for all through the establishment of prosperity, social justice and social security. Most of my experience relates to social work in rural areas in Egypt where 75% of the population lives and where the problems are more needy of attention. To be practical, I will draw specific examples from some of the problems and programs with which I had something to do personally during my more than tweny years' service in this field.

A survey of the history of social reform in Egypt would show that promising steps were taken after 1923. That year is significant, because it marks the inauguration of constitutional life in the country and the partial emancipation of the administration from British control. One of the first schemes attempted in 1924 was meant to wipe out illiteracy. Elementary education was recognized as a state responsibility. A law was enacted making elementary education compulsory and free. Schools were built, teachers were trained and tens of millions of pounds were poured into the scheme. The results, however, were far from satisfactory. Modeled rather for urban society and applied without adaptation to rural communities, these schools were far from successful. School enrollment was low and absenteeism in many areas was over 70 per cent. Because of their meager resources, the peasants could not afford to spare child labor from the fields. Yet they were required by law to send their childern to school, subject to punishment in case of failure to comply. This aroused much anger against the Government. The boys who attended became unhappy with village life. They looked down on farming and thought they were entitled by their limited education to get white collar jobs in the cities where they were not needed.

Over the last ten years, some innovations produced a definite improvement. A new type of rural school was developed with a new ideology in principles and goals of education. Only half the day was

now given to classroom life, the other half being devoted to training in better methods of cultivation, animal husbandry and handcrafts in workshops or gardens attached to the school. This catered to the interests of both parents and children. It meant to them preparation for a better livelihood. It also produced better elements that were more in harmony with their environment and more capable of serving their communities. In addition, the Government introduced organized medical care in schools. This was well received and showed results in improved student health standards. Further, a free, balanced meal was issued daily to each child attending school. All these measures resulted in a considerable increase in enrollment and a drop in absenteeism.

The next example I will draw from our experience in the cooperative movement which first started in 1909. At that time a spirited national leader, 'Umar Luṭfī, campaigned up and down the country-side for the establishment of cooperatives. He succeeded in creating some response and enthusiasm for the idea and built for himself a promising following. Within two years several societies were organized and functioned smoothly. The whole program, however, rested on one man's zeal and hard work. When he died in 1911, there was unfortunately no one to carry the movement forward. The lack of trained leaders and credit facilities caused even the cooperatives he had organized to collapse.

The movement began again in 1923. This time the government took the initiative, seeing in cooperatives a democratic institution well-suited to help the peasants. It passed the first cooperative law. Administrative officials in provinces and villages were ordered to quickly establish cooperative societies. Soon there were hundreds of such societies throughout the country. The peasants joined, paid subscriptions and registered their societies under the impression that they were carrying out Government orders. They had no real grasp of the meaning of a cooperative. They were not convinced it could serve their interests. They did not know how to run it once they had it. The general low level of education increased the difficulties even of keeping the cooperatives' books in order. No wonder then, that the scheme evaporated as fast as it sprang up, and left behind it a bitter taste in the mouths of those who had wasted their money on it.

In 1927 the Government made another attempt to establish cooperatives. It expanded the department for cooperatives. Legislation copied from the West, incorporating the principles of Rochdale and Raffeisen, was passed. A greater effort was made to safeguard the interests of the peasants who joined the new cooperatives. Generous credit facilities were guaranteed. The movement expanded and the number of societies increased tenfold. But, in the process, our en-

thusiasm had gotten ahead of sober planning. We cared more for increase in numbers and volume of business than for intensive basic cooperative education of the members. The individual peasant did not understand his responsibilities and democratic privileges as a member. The land distribution system raised several problems. The big landowners were not ready to accept the principle of equal vote. The smaller peasants were too weak to insist on their rights. The former soon monopolized in many instances the management, services and advantages of societies. The relatively easy terms of credit tempted members to borrow in excess of their real needs and their ability to repay.

In time, however, and with the spread of education, conditions gradually improved. We succeeded in re-establishing much of the faith that was shattered by the failure of the two previous attempts. Specific cooperative education through dissemination of literature, through lectures by qualified officials, through our cooperative schools for society officers, and through actual participation by the farmers in discussions, prepared the ground for progress. The task was easier in villages where good local leaders were available and where general education had taken hold. As a result many of the 2,000 existing societies gained strength and their varied services made a real contribution to their communities.

Then there was the field of public health. There we faced a huge task. The cumulative effect of several decades of negligence had given the problem an ominous magnitude. It was not easy to decide where to start. The main concern, however, was the endemic rural diseases. Bilharzia and enkylostoma were sapping the peasants' strength. Efforts were concentrated in zealous attempts to treat and cure the unfortunate victims. It was soon realized, however, that time and money spent on that approach were of little or no avail. For we confronted a vicious circle. The patients who received medical care were not immunized and usually contracted the same disease again.

About ten years ago, we realized that prevention was more effective than cure. We knew that canal snails served as hosts for the disease germs. Scientific research developed practical methods for extermination of these snails. At the same time the Government pushed through well-conceived programs for health education and the promotion of sanitary conditions. Concerted and coordinated efforts, over the last few years, have finished the job of snail eradication in three fourths of the Provinces. The incidence of infection has so far been reduced to about one fourth. The cost of the new method was far below what we had had to spend on the previous approach. But, above all, the reduction of physical suffering among the peasants and the increase in their productive capacities are incalculable.

Another venture was in the field of housing. For some time it has

been recognized that housing facilities in Egypt generally were quite inadequate, in fact, an insult to human dignity. Accordingly the Government and some non-governmental organizations started on projects for building model dwellings for the peasants. The cost involved was too high for the public budget as well as for the people's means. The idea that the designs of these model dwellings be copied and reproduced in other villages, therefore, failed completely. Similar urban developments of housing projects for industrial workers met the same doom for similar reasons.

As a result of this unhappy experience, it was decided as a matter of policy that government assistance in housing projects be offered to the people only if they themselves desired it and were willing to pay for it. Assistance then was given the form of guidance, tax exemptions, as well as initial loans at easy interest terms. Whenever possible, the Government provided the land necessary for building. One major aspect of this change was that it resulted in the organization by the people themselves of cooperative housing societies. It is a matter of satisfaction for me to remember that ten months ago I was honored by being invited to lay the cornerstone of the first of these cooperative housing projects.

By the fall of 1939 enough public consciousness of the problems of social reform in Egypt had been aroused. The Government established in that year a special ministry for social affairs, incorporating the departments of cooperatives, labor and social services. The new emphasis was on planning better integrated and coordinated reform measures in the social field. A full chain of labor legislation conforming with the recommendations of the International Labor Organization was completed. A new department for peasant affairs was established. It was my good fortune to be appointed as its first director.

Thirteen centuries ago, Islamic teachings established the principle of state responsibility towards all needy citizens, and provided for its practical administration, the institutions of Zakāt and Bait-al-Māl. Historical developments however, had since weakened or suspended these functions in most of the Muslim World. By 1949, social reform ideology, in the Ministry of Social Affairs, ten years after its establishment, had matured enough to recognize that social welfare could not be left solely to private philanthropy, and that the State was responsible for every citizen in need.

The Ministry's efforts were crowned by the passage in 1950 of the Social Security Act. Under that legislation, and to start with, four major groups were entitled to pensions, namely, the aged, the disabled, the widowed and the orphaned. Other groups, such as the unemployed and the sick were considered as entitled to assistance. It is most interesting to note that the objective of that law was not to simply distribute benefits and relief. More constructive measures

were envisaged, as for instance, rehabilitation of the disabled and education for the orphaned, with a view to making them self-sufficient and useful citizens. Moreover, the law, stressing the principle of social solidarity, granted full coverage for the urban and rural population, on a non-contributory basis. The law also provided for assistance to foreigners residing in Egypt. This law was praised by international experts as a very sound and progressive social reform legislation.

The recognition of state responsibility for social security and assistance did not mean that we must dispense with private efforts in that field. Many private philanthropic societies have been doing a good job for years and can claim an honorable record. Their knowledge, efforts and contributions could still do much to further progress. In certain fields they can offer humane services for which they are better adapted than Government machinery. They represent the high ideals of solidarity, social responsibility and brotherhood. There are today over 3000 such societies in Egypt. Many of them are active in the fields of health, education and social services. Some of them do pioneering work in reform. Economically underdeveloped countries like ours are in great need of more such efforts. The Ministry of Social Affairs, in this spirit, encourages and supports these voluntary organizations, morally, technically and financially.

The cornerstone for rural development in Egyptian villages has come to be the Social Centre, introduced by the Fallāḥ Department. It is now twelve years since the first five of these centres were opened. Today, we can boast of one hundred and sixty of them spread over the countryside. Each centre is designed to serve about ten thousand people. It includes a meeting hall, provided with a radio and a library, a dispensary, a maternity home, a pure-water station with washroom and baths, a workshop for small handcrafts, a rural club, and any other service that the people may choose to add.

Detailed studies and thorough research preceded the establishment of these centres. A few principles were laid down and rightly observed. The buildings must be simple and inexpensive, so as to make possible the spread of the scheme on a nation-wide scale. The centre must tackle the various problems of the community simultaneously and in a comprehensive manner. The initiative for starting a new centre must come from the people concerned. The people must be convinced that the centre will serve their interests. They have to contribute the land, some materials, labor and fifteen hundred pounds towards the initial cost of the buildings. The Government subsidizes the cost of construction, supplies furniture and medicines and provides the centre with an agricultural social worker and a nurse-midwife. The Government also pays a subsidy towards the

running expenses. The centre employs a doctor of its own choosing to visit it at least three days a week and pays for his services. Funds for that purpose must be provided by the people in small fees. In every respect the centre must be a people's responsibility in its establishment and management. Its decisions must be made democratically by its freely chosen committees.

The success of the Social Centre as an institution most suited to serve the civic, economic, cultural and social needs of the Egyptian village is now fully recognized. It is living proof that sincere cooperation between Government and people can do much to bring a real uplift in the social standards of rural areas. The enthusiasm of the people in some of these centres is very gratifying. With little financial help and technical guidance from the Government they were able to fill swamps, improve roads, build schools and introduce playgrounds and public parks. In a democratic fashion, they discuss their needs and plan their course of action. They volunteer their varied abilities to serve their communities. They were able to improve agricultural and animal production and to introduce certain cottage industries. They formed drama groups and sports teams. In one village I visited shortly before my present assignment the people's centre had organized eighteen evening classes to combat illiteracy. The United Nations has recognized that such centres are probably the best method for introducing rural reform in economically underdeveloped countries. Several U.N. missions were sent to different countries to investigate possibilities for promotion of rural community centres. Very recently the U.N. was interested in borrowing some of the senior staff members who worked on our project to use them in introducing similar schemes in other member nations. There is no doubt that, first by trial and error, and later by sound planning, we are getting closer, we believe, to the right approach to social reform. We realize however, that we are still at the beginning of a long and hard road. We feel confident that by self help, mutual help and aided self help, we will be able to cover more ground and achieve further progress.

One problem, however, required a different approach. Serious defects in land distribution gave a few owners disproportionate powers. Such semi-feudal conditions, maintained in Egypt for centuries, were responsible for arresting progress and development, and for the plight of the bulk of the population. The credit for rectifying this situation goes to the New Régime in Egypt. In a courageous move, a few months after its inception, this Régime passed the Agrarian Reform Law. It established a ceiling of two hundred acres on land ownership. It ordered distribution of the excesses in lots up to five acres each and at reasonable prices. The precarious conditions under

which the small tenant and landless laborer lived because of scarcity of land and population pressures were also attacked by this law through fixing lower land rents and more rewarding minimum wages for workers. This one action surpasses all others as a sound and long overdue step towards the emancipation of the Egyptian peasant, raising his morale and social status and improving his economic lot. Its psychological impact is immense. It created the prerequisites for the success of any measures of social and economic reform.

Our experience in social reform has taught us that the problems we face are deep rooted, intricate and interrelated. They cannot be solved overnight. Nor can they be treated piecemeal. If any plans to solve them are to succeed, they must be attacked in a comprehensive manner. Their interactions must be considered. To deal with them properly we need funds, technical knowledge and coordinated programs. We now realize that the roots of social ills are embedded in depressed economic standards. We believe that economic development is the solid foundation for social advance. Prosperity, by bringing higher and more decent standards of living, reduces the size of the problem and enables the people to tackle it themselves. Prosperity also makes available to the government more resources to finance its social reform projects. In full recognition of this the New Régime in Egypt established a National Council for Economic Development and gave it a free hand to make studies, chart plans and start on projects for development in all sectors of the National Economy.

As I have said before, planned social and economic development require adequate data, thorough studies and scientific research, for which well-trained technicians are greatly needed. For years we have been improving and encouraging technical education in the land. We have kept sending out young Egyptians on study missions overseas to accomplish higher standards of learning and introduce the latest in science into our country. We have increased our stock of teachers, doctors, engineers, economists and sociologists. These technicians have now come in handy and are manning the posts in our development schemes. To help and supplement their work we are availing ourselves of the generous services of experts from international organizations and other technical assistance programs. We feel grateful for the benefits we draw in this way. Such cooperation among the nations of the world should be encouraged and expanded. It is a valuable instrument for peace and progress.

Finally, in Egypt we lack the funds to carry out as many projects as we would like in the shorest possible time. We are always faced with financial limitations and budgetary restrictions. It is unreasonable to expect the Government to shoulder all the burdens neces-

sary. Its efforts will, for a long time to come, fall short of the great needs. Similarly, if we were to expect the people to pull themselves up by their bootstraps, we would not get far, on account of the depressed starting point.

However, one fundamental consideration in social reform may more than compensate for lack of funds. It is that here we deal with human beings who have their personal wills and desires, individual skills and capabilities and great potential spiritual and material powers. We believe that any projects charted for these people without their desire, consent and participation, any projects imposed upon them from the armchairs of the country's capital, any project which ignores their traditions and social patterns may draw their rejection and non-cooperation. On the other hand, if we arouse the full consciousness of the people, if we capture and utilize their great abilities and resources and work for them through working with them, we can be sure to harness great powers that no government effort can match. Such powers of self-help, when aided technically and financially and coordinated with government efforts in overall plans for social reform will produce maximum results and bring us closer to success.

The Egyptian Embassy, Washington.

Ahmed Ḥussein,
Egyptian Ambassador to the United States

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON MODERN ARABIC LITERATURE

Is there a literary renaissance taking place in the Arab world today? What evaluation can be placed upon that renaissance? What books are being written and how do these books compare, in depth and lasting value, with the Arabic classics? What are the problems confronting the modern writer of Arabic? What literary medium does he use? What is he doing with language and style? What are the sources of his literary inspiration? Is he yet only a translator who has found no literary position, no literary soul, still only transposing the modern West or the classic past of his own culture? These are questions which must claim the attention of any person interested in the Middle East and seeking to understand the movements, both cultural and political, taking place in that area. At the present stage of inadequate critical study of literary production in Arabic it is not likely that a definitive answer can be given to all, if to any, of these questions but they are queries which prompted the investigations lying behind these notes.

That there is an increasing literary activity in the Middle East is evident.[1] The evaluation of this vast output of the presses is not easy. The attempt to survey the literary production of any country is, of course, a formidable task, not least in Egypt[2] where, in addition to the increase in volume and variety of literary production, there is a very large number of publishing houses, ranging from the excellent "Dār al-Ma'ārif" to mere holes in the wall; and it should be noted that some of these small and little known presses often produce some of the better books.[3] The task is further complicated by

[1] That a recent book (Al-'Aqqād's "'Abqarīyat al-Masīḥ") sold over 200,000 copies in a few weeks is graphic evidence of this fact. This book appeared in a "pocket book" series,—a movement which has now reached Egypt,—and is making an amazing success there. Many of the better authors are writing originally or allowing reprints of their works for these series; for example, Ṭaha Ḥusain, "Aḥlām Shahrazād" (no. 1 in the "Silsilat Iqrā'" which began in 1943), 'Abbās al-'Aqqād, "'Abqarīyat 'Umar", etc. Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm informs us that his "'Awdat al-Rūḥ", long out of print in the first volume, will appear in one of these series. They usually appear monthly and are priced from four to ten piastres. The cheapness of the paper and the format will not please the librarian or the book-lover but, for a population which is increasing in literacy and the desire to read, this placing of good writing within reasonable financial range is, indeed, a blessing and may do much to raise the cultural level in the Middle East where clerks and artisans, though able to read, live in economic difficulties which prevent them from purchasing books in the regular editions.

[2] It will be observed that this discussion deals almost entirely with books printed in Egypt.

[3] With these smaller presses operating on a very simple scale it is still possible for the author to deal with them on a personal basis for the printing of his book. He can afford to do this because distribution is so poorly organized in the Middle East that he is not forced to depend upon the publishing house for the marketing of his books, as is so thoroughly the case in America.

the fact that the critical review is a very new science in the Arab world and it is impossible to use this short-cut to the selection and evaluation of books.[4] The investigator is left with two methods. He can attempt to read as much as possible of this vast number of books, often the bad with the good, in an effort to select and evaluate. At best this will be a limited undertaking, especially for those of us who reserve most of our time for more classical studies. The second method is to learn the opinions of a wide range of well informed persons; literature professors, writers and such others as read intelligently and are capable of making critical judgements concerning Arabic books. Both methods have been employed in the garnering of such information as may appear in these pages. Indeed, this writing would never have been attempted without the very generous assistance of a large number of Egypt's leading authors, professors and literary men. Grateful acknowledgement is made to them for this help. These conversations, so generously and pleasantly given, have been especially valuable in respect to matters of style and literary evaluation.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ARABIC LITERATURE

The first years of the nineteenth century are usually considered as marking the beginning of modern Egypt. The coming of Napoleon brought not only a new interest in Egypt but led the way to Egypt's new interest in the West. Under Muḥammad 'Alī educational and scientific missions were sent to Europe and many internal reforms were carried out to the benefit of the country. These events, and those which followed, brought to 19th century Egypt changes of major significance in political, economic and social spheres. Minor developments were taking place in the realm of literature but it is not until the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries that we find in Egypt literary interest of a nature to create a modern period. It is true that a literary renaissance had begun in the nineteenth century[5] but for this we look primarily to Lebanon (or Syria). Here we find the writers who were the founders of modern Arabic literature. Nāsīf al-Yāzijī (1800-1871), Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819-1883) and Fāris al-Shidiyāq (1804-1887) are men to be mentioned in this early period.

The development of the modern literary movement in Egypt

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[4] The reasons for this are many and cannot be discussed here but it is generally accepted by many literary men in Egypt that truly critical reviews are not being written and, perhaps, cannot be written until further developments take place in the intellectual and political atmosphere.

[5] See Gibb, article in BSOS, IV, 1938, pp. 744-60 and H. Pérès, "Les premières manifestations de la renaissance littéraire Arabe en Orient au XIX[e] siècle", Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales, I, 1934-35.

came from two sides: (1) the efforts of a few religious and social reformers and (2) the influx of writers, especially journalists, from Lebanon. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838-1897), Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849-1905) and Qāsim Amīn (1865-1908), while essentially reformers and not literary men, did much to open the way to the development of a new literature. We should add to these al-Kawākibī (1849-1902) and his book, "Ṭabā'i al-Istibdād."

At the end of the nineteenth century several journalists came from the Lebanon to establish newspapers in Cairo. The Taqla brothers, Salīm and Bishārah, founded "Al-Ahrām"[6] in 1875. "Al-Muqattam"[7] was established in 1889 by Yaqūb Sarrūf and Fāris Nimr. "Al-Muqtataf", founded in 1871 in Beirut, was transferred to Cairo in 1884. "Al-Hilāl" was begun by Jirjī Zaydān in 1892. From these facts we should make two observations: (a) the influence of the Lebanese literary awakening upon Egypt, especially in the early stages and (b) the fact that the modern literary movement began in Egypt under the influence of journalism. Thus it will not be surprising to discover that writing in Egypt has continued to be dominated by journalism and that much of the literary production is journalistic, a fact which indicates most clearly the chief characteristic and the chief weakness of modern Arabic literature.[8]

We have mentioned Jirjī Zaydān (1861-1914) as a journalist but we should observe further his contribution to Arabic literature. In addition to his two well known compilations, "Tārīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī" (5 vols., 1902-1906)[9] and "Tārīkh Adāb al-Lughat al-'Arabīyah" (4 vols., 1911-1914), he wrote a number of historical novels[10] which must be taken into account in a study of the development of fiction writing in Arabic.[11] Another name to be mentioned in this early period is that of Faraḥ Anṭūn (ob. 1921). He was also of Lebanese origin and, coming to Cairo about 1900, he did much to introduce French literature and French thought into Egypt.[12] These new modes of thought and new styles of writing made a strong appeal to certain students of that day and became an important element in the growing renaissance.[13]

The extent to which this literary renaissance has advanced and

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[6] Egypt's best newspaper, still published by the Taqla family.

[7] A good, non-partisan daily which, unfortunately, ceased publication toward the end of 1952.

[8] Cf. Gibb, "Arabic Literature", p. 119.

[9] Part of which was translated by Margoliouth as, "Umayyads and Abbasids," GMS, 1907.

[10] "Riwāyat al-Mamlūk al-Shārid", "Istibdād al-Mamlūk", etc.

[11] See Kratchovsky, "Der historische Roman in der neueren Arabischen Literatur", Die Welt des Islams, XII, p. 69ff.

[12] The works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, et al.

[13] See "Tarbīyat Salāma Mūsā", p. 55ff.

the comparative excellence of the Arabic now being written are subjects upon which one hesitates to pass judgement. Without doubt advancement has been made during this first half of the 20th century both in the reform of ideas and of literary style. It is an open question whether this spirit and this new literary style has reached a stage of excellence to compare with either the Arabic classics or with other literatures. Perhaps the words of one of the leading writers of today is the best conclusion. Discussing the value of Arabic literature, Ṭaha Ḥusain asks, "Is it as al-Jāhiẓ said, 'The best of literatures and the most exalted, there being no literature other than it', or is it as some Europeans say, 'A thing without value'? No. Arabic literature is neither the most exalted nor the weakest of literatures. Nor is it even mediocre, especially if we are speaking of classical literature. . . . If we speak of modern literature, we have only hope; but all things indicate that it will be only a short while until our modern literature will be able to take a firm place alongside foreign literatures as it did in the past."[14] These words were written a number of years ago and the author himself has done much to fulfill that hope of seeing a modern Arabic literature with an excellence which will allow it to hold its own in comparison with other literatures. Further details, in respect to authors and books and their place in this literary movement will be given in the pages which follow.

CLASSICISM VERSUS MODERNISM

The modern literary movement in Egypt has developed along two lines or within two schools. The first of these places its primary emphasis and valuation upon the classic style. It tends to sacrifice thought for language and to be more interested in form than in content. Beauty and elegance of language are the qualities sought for and the ancient classics become the ideal pattern. The second school would seek to break away from the bonds of classicism and discover newer and freer modes of expression, maintaining that language must be at the service of thought and that ideas should take priority over literary form. These writers look less to, or even scorn, the elegant and flowery phraseology which prevailed in the classics or in the style of those who would imitate the classics. Their campaign is for a simpler and more direct language, thus closer to the spirit of European tongues.

The modern school has many adherents among contemporary writers, varying in degree, of course, in respect to modernity and classicism. In fact, it is being taken for granted that the "old school" has had its day and has few proponents among the present day writ-

[14] "Min Ḥadīth al-Shi'r wa al-Nathr" (1936), p. 22.

ers. It would be truer, perhaps, to say that writing has progressed to a new stage where the strongly classical school has lost its supremacy but the divergence still remains with lines of cleavage drawn in new places. We now have a semi-classical group, which once considered themselves modern, set over against an ultra-modern group. Just as al-Manfalūṭī and Shawqī came protesting against the chains of classicism, so came men like Ṭaha Ḥusain and 'Abbās al-'Aqqād to protest against the neo-classicism of Shawqī and al-Manfalūṭī. Now there appears a still newer school which is critical of the "stylistic" writing of Ṭaha Ḥusain and 'Abbās al-'Aqqād. But the issue remains and will remain until the literary renaisssance is considerably more complete than it is at the present time. As long as writers continue to look either to Mecca or to Paris, having found no true position of their own, this dichotomy between "classic" and "modern" will persist.

THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL

Among living authors Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Zayyāt is the leading defender of the classical school. From his pen comes not only elegant prose of the grand old style but a continued defense of the beauty and dignity of the classical modes of expression and the richness of classical literary illusion.[15] "Waḥī al-Risālah" (2 vols., 1940-1944) furnishes the best and most available sample of this type of writing.[16]

Muṣṭafā Luṭfi al-Manfalūṭī (1876-1924) should be placed in this school of more formal writing even though his style is not completely classical in nature.[17] In its time his writing represented definite elements of modernism but, in comparison with contemporary trends, his style belongs to the old school. His two best known works, "al-Naẓarāt" (vols. I and II, 1910; vol. III, 1920) and "al-'Abarāt" (1915), are collections of essays and through them he has come to be known as "the father of the Egyptian essay". Al-Manfalūṭī also translated or retold many stories taken from western languages. These stories are still widely read, perhaps more than his "al-Naẓarāt". They tend to be sad, pessimistic and, sometimes, seriously religious. Their appeal is primarily to young people for whom this type of literature has a strong attraction.[18] Al-Manfalūṭī's influence upon present day prose,

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[15] His literary journal, "al-Risālah", unfortunately ceased publication early in 1953. That the classical-modern controversy is yet alive in literary circles is indicated by the vigor of the discussion among writers following this event. It must also be reported that "al-Thaqāfah" met its demise at the end of 1952. The passing of these two fine cultural journals is a great loss to Egyptian intellectual life.

[16] A collection of articles which appeared in "al-Risālah".

[17] See Professor Gibb's article on al-Manfalūṭī, BSOS, 1929, p. 311ff.

[18] Muḥammad Faḥmy, "Quelques Penseurs et Essayistes Egyptiens", La Revue du Caire, February 1953, p. 158f.

even among writers of the more modern school, is greater than is usually supposed. Obviously his heavy and pessimistic style is seriously criticized in these days when the demand is for a lighter, simpler and more direct mode of expression. However his influence upon many contemporary writers is undeniable. For example, the prose style of Ṭaha Ḥusain, who has been one of his severest critics, shows many indications of al-Manfalūṭī's influence.

Probably the greatest writer of the classical school during the twentieth century was Muṣṭafā Ṣādiq al-Rāfi'ī (ob. 1937). In fact, one Egyptian authority on modern literature has called him the greatest prose writer since al-Jāhiẓ.[19] His style is strictly classical but its excellence lies in the fact that it is not the slavish imitation found in many neo-classicists. As in the case of any great writing, it presents many new elements and new methods; items which have become a part of that which is deemed good prose style in the most modern sense. For those who have a preference for elegance and classical flavor, al-Rāfi'ī's style is highly honored. The best example of his writing is "Waḥī al-Qalam" (2 vols., 1936), a collection of essays on a variety of intellectual and philosophical subjects. In his early life he wrote short stories and poetry,[20] literary forms which he later abandoned. His "al-Ma'rakah bain al-Qadīm wa al-Jadīd" (1927) is the well known reply to Ṭaha Ḥusain's "Fī al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī" (1926).[21]

THE MODERN SCHOOL

Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid has not distinguished himself as fully as many others in the production of books but as the father of the modern literary movement he deserves much credit. In Egypt he is affectionately called "Ustādh al-Jīl" (professor of the present generation) and is looked upon as having inspired many of the present generation of writers, Ṭaha Ḥusain, Aḥmad Amīn, Muḥammad Ḥusain Haykal and others.[22] Truly he has been the molder of a new generation. By his activity in the newly established Egyptian University[23] and the liberal newspaper, "al-Jarīdah,"[24] he did much to bring about an intellectual revolution in Egypt. His work was that of

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[19] This statement as well as some other ideas here expressed concerning al-Rāfi'ī are taken from my conversations with 'Umar al-Dasūqī, author of "Fī al-Adab al-Ḥadīth", 2 vols. 1952 (a third volume due in the near future).

[20] Of which we have a "Dīwān" in four volumes.

[21] Other works of al-Rāfi'ī: "Awrāq al-Ward", "al-saḥāb al-Aḥmar" and "I jāz al-Qur'ān". He has also written a good three-volume history of Arabic literature. His messages to "Mayy" (Mayy Ziyādah, known for her correspondence with Jubrān Khalīl Jubrān) should also be noted.

[22] "Cinquante ans de littérature Egyptienne", La Revue du Caire, February, 1953, p. 151.

[23] Later "Fuad al-Awwal".

[24] He was its editor from 1907 to 1915.

breaking the shackles of thought so long maintained by al-Azhar tradition and the ushering in of an era of freer, more intellectual and more scientific thinking. At present he is the president of the Royal Academy of Arabic Language. His strongest writing was in the form of articles which appeared in "al-Jarīdah" and other periodicals. A collection of these entitled "al-Muntakhabāt" forms the best representation of his writing now available.

From another angle and with a different approach we have the modernizing leadership of Salāma Mūsā.[25] Both in respect to language and thought this Christian writer had a strong influence on the modern school, especially in the twenties and thirties. Calling for a complete break with the archaic literary forms and ideals of the ancient past he turned to the West as the source of inspiration, proposing to write Arabic in a simple, straight-forward style as one would write French or English. As a disciple of Spencer, Darwin and Shaw, Salāma Mūsā did much in bringing modern ideas to Egypt as well as giving leadership to an ultra-modern school in literary form.

By the mention of men like al-Rāfi'ī on the one side and Salāma Mūsā on the other we throw into relief certain problems and considerations which face the modern generation of Arabic authors. First, there is the question of literary medium. Literary forms known to the classical Arab world no longer suffice and modern writers are forced to experiment with new mediums. The modern literary movement in its early stages is characterized by a conscious imitation of classical forms. A very successful attempt of this nature was al-Muwaylihī's "Ḥadīth 'Isa Ibn al-Hishām," modeled after the "maqāmāt" literature of al-Hamdhānī and al-Ḥarīrī. In the realm of poetry we have Shawqī and his school dealing with modern subject matter but doing so rather generally in classical poetic forms. On the other hand, much of modern Arabic writing has consisted of "translation" of European literature. Drama and the short story, literary mediums new to the Arabic language, furnished much material both for direct translation and conscious imitation. With the passing of classical forms and the importation of new forms from the West the writer of Arabic has the problem of adapting these new vehicles to his language and culture. Much interesting progress has been made in this regard. It is interesting, for example, to see that drama, which does not exist in classical Arabic literature, has met with considerable success in recent years.[26] Turning to the novel and the short story, it is difficult yet to assess the success being attained. The short story, in

[25] Date of birth uncertain; he approximates 1887; see "Tarbīyat Salāma Mūsā", p. 23.

[26] For a discussion of this phenomenon see the introduction to Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm's play, "Oedipus".

the hands of a master like Maḥmūd Taymūr, has certainly attained a praiseworthy standard. That much of the short story writing has been an imitation of French and English models is an evident fact and only time will judge whether the vast output of stories now being witnessed in Egypt will produce writing of lasting value.[27] The novel is an even more doubtful literary vehicle in the Arab world but there are indications that progress is being made and that the younger writers especially may be in a position to produce some very commendable writing in this form. We shall hope to discuss later these novelists and their works, desiring here only to illustrate the struggle of the contemporary writer with new literary forms.

Even with poetry, a medium well known to the Arab world, considerable revolution is taking place both in respect to form and mood. But the status of modern poetry is by no means certain. Some critics, such as Ṭaha Ḥusain, consider modern poetic efforts of no value while others, like Aḥmad Amīn, take a more moderate position of disdain, saying that cultivated people of the Arab nations have received this new poetry "with a sort of indifference because their musical ear is not yet accustomed to it."[28] In fact, the only medium in which contemporary writers appear to feel totally secure is the "journalistic piece." It is in this form that they express the greater amount of their ideas. Many of the books in any list of good writing in the 20th century will be collections of short articles which have appeared in periodicals. One wishes that the appellation "journalistic piece" could be changed to "essay." In a few cases this can be done and some of the literary and artistic criticisms deserve to be dignified by the term essay. Critical judgment, however, forces us to admit that journalism, in which these writers have their early training, continues to characterize this form of writing.

The modern writer is also confronted with a problem of language. In the first instance there is the question of the colloquial and the classical. There is an increasing tendency to make use of the colloquial idiom. The occasions for this occur, as one would expect, in such instances as conversation in stories and in plays. The advantage of the colloquial is that, being the language of daily use, it is fitting to conversation and it lends a naturalness and ease to the work which is less possible with the more formal language. On the other hand, there is a strong prejudice against seeing the spoken language in print and cultured readers tend to look upon the

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[27] These appear in the regular newspapers and periodicals as well as in a number of special monthly story magazines.

[28] "L'Evolution de la Littérature Egyptienne", "La Revue du Caire", February, 1953, p. 24.

practice as lessening the dignity of literature.[29] Furthermore, colloquialisms, if extensively used, as for example in a play, limit the work to the geographical area where the idiom is spoken while, if the classical language is employed, the work can be enjoyed throughout the Arab world.

Leaving aside the question of the use of the colloquial, there still remains a problem of language. The writer can employ the classical language and still have a wide choice in the extent of his classicism. He may elect to write in a simple language and thus more closely approach the Arabic of everyday use or he may think of the written language as a literary vehicle and, for the sake of literary art, make use of more classical vocabulary, more elegant phraseology and more formal tone. Each method has its advantages and disadvantages and thus forms another of the problems which confront the modern writer.

The modern writer also faces, consciously or unconsciously, the problem of the source of inspiration. Is the pattern, both for ideas and for style, to be found in the West? Is not the archaism of the Arabic past stultifying to literary progress? 'Issāwī, for example, speaks of "the inadequacy of the Arab cultural heritage to form the basis of an intellectual and spiritual revival" and asserts that "only to the West can the Arab world turn today for spiritual and intellectual light."[30] On the other hand, it may well be asked whether a writer of Arabic can cut himself off from his literary heritage. Can he write with beauty and depth of literary illusion without being strongly steeped in and influenced by that classical heritage? Is a man who has been trained to think and write as a Frenchman capable of producing genuine Arabic literature or merely a pale copy of another culture in Arabic garb? There are, to be sure, answers to these questions, but in the variety of the answers we observe the problem which exists. To a great extent, the question of modernity remains as Professor Gibb put it some years ago, "How far Arabic literature is to draw its sole or main inspiration from traditional Islamic sources."[31]

The modern writer is working under strong economic and social pressures. To be sure, writers have always faced the problem of bread and butter and the temptation of writing to meet the popular demand. Whether these issues are more acute in Egypt than elsewhere one hesitates to say, but we should observe their effect upon literary

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[29] Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm has in the past written plays of good quality in the colloquial language. He now tells us that he will adhere to the classical language because the public demand for plays in the colloquial is a demand for vulgarity.

[30] "Egypt: An Economic and Social Analysis", p. 192.

[31] BSOS, V, 1929, p. 449.

production. The social and economic struggle is severe in all walks of life in Egypt. The writer tends to solve this problem by selling short the literary profession and grasping more certain means of daily bread and social approval. Most often he does this by enslavement to journalism, journalism in general or political journalism in particular. There is demand for such writing and, since the clever writer can "whip up" an article for the journals for a modest but certain fee, he is prone to do so rather than to risk the adventure into the more doubtful realms of serious literature. If he is willing to espouse a party or a political cause he can, even more readily, sell his writing. This situation, more than any other, is hindering the production of really good writing in the Middle East. Added to this is the strong tendency toward "writing for the public." This is prompted by certain fears, economic, religious and social, which still beset the writer in Egyptian society. In conversation a leading author said, "We move with fear, not only of despots, but of the public; fear that our writing will enrage them by hurting their religious prejudices or social conservatism. This we constantly fear." If we have this from a well established writer, and one known for courageous writing, what of the younger men who are seeking a literary reputation? Few there be who are willing to face these social antagonisms, for to be a truly modern writer in Egypt requires that one be a social and religious reformer as well. Muḥammad 'Abduh and Qāsim Amīn were not men of great literary genius. The same is true of other reformers such as Shaykh Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Rāziq and 'Ali 'Abd al-Rāziq.[32] Ṭaha Ḥusain comes as near combining the qualities of reformer and "litterateur" as has been seen in the twentieth century. As is natural, Ṭaha Ḥusain's most vigorous work as a reformer came in his early prime, 1926 and the decade which followed. The question now arises, Who are the younger spirits to step into this role?

One is tempted to conclude that modern Egyptian literature has reached a sort of plateau stage in its development. This is, no doubt, too simple a statement of the case but the following facts may be observed. Al-Māzinī did some excellent writing along truly modern lines but his death occurred in 1949. Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm has brought the drama and the short story to a commendable stage of progress. He seems to stand as a climax to a long development and it is difficult to point out others who are certain to take his place. 'Abbās al-'Aqqād, as a writer of both prose and poetry, has displayed considerable literary genius. This was even more evident in his earlier years. Ḥusain Haykal has in recent times turned more to

[32] Author of the controversial book, "Islām wa Uṣūl al-Ḥukm".

politics at the sacrifice of literary production. Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Zayyāt writes little these days and his classical school has few disciples. Salāma Mūsā has performed a valuable service to the modern movement but it is generally conceded that his best work has been done. Aḥmad Amīn is well along in years and will, we hope, continue to produce scholarly compilations but he cannot be expected to take a leading place in creative writing. Ṭaha Ḥusain has, without doubt, been the greatest writer of the Middle East during the last decades and still stands as the pre-eminent writer in the Arabic language. He too has reached the climax of his literary career.

The question is, Who are the writers of the younger generation? Are their capabilities such as to enable them to carry on this tradition of an improving Arabic literature? We hope to give some answers to these questions as well as to present a more detailed account of some of the above-mentioned authors and their works. For the moment let us say that there exists a younger generation of writers some of whom show unquestionable literary ability. There are others whose works have yet to be made known and tested, whose literary careers are too young for valid judgements to be made. In the realm of the novel we have names like Najīb Maḥfūẓ, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm ʿAbdallah, and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Saḥḥār. For drama we have ʿAlī Aḥmad Bākathīr and others. Among the short story writers there are many names and judgement is not easy at this stage but men like Iḥsān ʿAbd al-Quddūs, Amīn Ghurāb, Ṣalāḥ Zuhnī, Maḥmūd al-Badawī, and Ḥusain Muḥnis deserve study.

American University, Cairo

KERMIT SCHOONOVER

THE "ARABS" OF THE ZAMBEZI

The proto-martyr of Christian missions in Bantu East Africa was the Portuguese Jesuit Gonçalo da Silveira, whose devotion is commemorated by Camoens in the 93rd stanza of the tenth Canto of his epic of the Discoveries, the Lusiads. In the year 1560 A.D. this missionary headed a group of three who, with the cooperation of Portuguese gold-buyers who had already penetrated the interior, ascended the course of the Zambezi to the mart of Sena, where he awaited the answer to an embassy sent to the greatest known African potentate, the "emperor" Monomotapa. By early December the answer had come that the Mission would be welcome, and a guide was provided for it. They apparently diverged from the Zambezi's course at some point short of Tete, and went off to the west to reach the *zimbawe* or headquarters of the emperor on New Year's Day, 1561.

The missionary was received honourably with presents of gold, cattle, and slaves; all of which he returned, explaining that he had come not for gold but in the service of God. After twenty-five days his preaching brought not only Monomotapa, but the Queen-mother and thirty notables of the Court to baptism. His influence was obviously going to be a major factor in directing the affairs of the country as long as he was established at court; and his intention to remain was emphasised by his acquiring a chapel-building. He had not come for gold, but he had come in company with gold-seekers, and there were other gold-seekers in the country already. These were called by the Portuguese *mouros:* Muslims of unspecified ethnic origin. Their presence may be connected with the wealth in gold which the seamen-Conquistadores had been able to seize in Sofala and Kilwa from the Muslim merchants there, men of more or less remote Persian Gulf origin. Until Silveira's appearance, they had represented superior culture in Monomotapa's eyes, and had bought his gold and ivory. They found their position challenged and the challenger preparing to settle permanently.

Under the leadership of one Mafamede, a Mozambique Arab, they worked to change the emperor's attitude. The Mozambique man was able to point out that behind this man of peace there were the men who had ruined Sofala and Kilwa and made their sultans slaves. The missionaries were at best spies, at worst subtly armed enemies. A few weeks after his baptism, the emperor despatched his stranglers to murder Dom Gonçalo in the night. But there was no general massacre of the Portuguese. Indeed, the gold-buyer Antonio Caiado who had introduced the mission was able to gain the ear of Monomotapa again, persuade him of the wickedness of his act, and bring him to put all the blame for it on the evil counsels of the *mouros,* to whom he extended the fate of the padre. Mafamede, who would call him-

self Muhamedi, in the end produced the extinction of that centre of Muslim influence: but none of these tragedies could apparently be charged to immediate religious antagonism. Silveira came to Africa to seek a martyr's death, but he died a victim of commercial apprehension. The Muslims lost the final round of the contest for the gold trade.

Eight years later a large expedition set out from Portugal on an enterprise which would justify all Mafamede's warnings. Its commander, Francisco Barreto, bore the title of "Conqueror of the Mines of Monomotapa." In the event, Barreto and most of his men died without having seen either the mines or the emperor; and at a comparatively early stage in the expedition they camped to recuperate from incessant mischances at Sena. Tsetse fly killed their horses, and muddy Zambezi water gave the men dysentery. In their frustration and fury the troops turned against a neighbouring settlement of *mouros* and put them to the sword. There is no suggestion in the Portuguese writers that this was provoked by any acts of the Muslims. It was simply that they carried a hated name, and the Christians were exasperated by physical misery.

That marks the last appearance of the Muslim name in Zambezi for over three centuries. The coast Arabs, reinforced from their homelands, maintained the conflict against the Portuguese and won back the ports from Kilwa north; but no reinforcement or resettlement went up country to the Zambezi gold marts, for the old connection with the tribal chiefs was broken. Yet there were indications that not all the *mouros* had been concentrated for the two crippling massacres. As the South African trek Boers and the wandering European adventurers approached the old empire of Monomotapa from the south, they found small tribal groups whose customs—particularly the bleeding of meat animals—reminded them of the Malays at the Cape; and who possessed skills of metal-working not usual among the Africans. Since all blacks were "Kaffirs," to distinguish them from Hottentots and halfbreeds, these peculiar peoples were labelled "Slaamzyn Kaffers" or "Islamic Kaffirs"—a nice confusion of usage.

The later permanent occupation of Rhodesia and northern Transvaal allowed of closer observation, and these groups were found to be a depressed and broken tribe, scattered among the Mashona who had been a powerful people before the Matebele over-ran them. The Africans called them BaLemba. Some observers professed to see in them Semitic physical features, and they did observe the non-Bantu practice of male circumcision of infants; but apart from the general Bantu tradition of origin in the north and occupation of various stations on the way to where they are found today, they themselves have little light to shed on the question of their origin and historic difference from the rest of the Mashona. Their speech is that of their

Bantu neighbours, and where they are most concentrated they have a district chief of their own tribe nowadays, in accordance with the general political pattern.

But several observers note that, while they recognise no common name that they apply to themselves everywhere, the most generally recognised name is (or was) Mwenyi; and that directs our attention to a note in the Handbook of Nyasaland, published in 1936, where it is noted under the heading "Southern Province, Lower Shire District," that; "*Amwenye* have settled in the district within the last twenty years. This tribe practises certain Mohammedan rites such as circumcision, the bleeding of animals and abstention from eating the flesh of any animal of the pig tribe. They are supposed to be descended from the Arabs found by the Portuguese at Sena. . . . The name is derived from the Portuguese *Monhé* which means "Arab" and is supposed to be a corruption of the Indian word *Bunya*." The evidence for this last assertion is not adduced, and its likelihood is impugned by the occurrence of the name as that used for themselves by the people that others called BaLemba. In fact the Nyasaland Amwenye call themselves *Momini,* and all other peoples *Ankufalo*--two terms in which Arabists can recognise "Believers" and "Unbelievers"; and *Momini* is phonetically conformable with *Mwenye*.

As the Nyasaland Handbook indicates, the Amwenye trace their immediate origin to Sena, their remoter beginnings to Arabia. In 1951 one of the elderly members of the group gave, in the ChiSena Bantu speech which is their normal medium of communication, this account of their history:

"Our lords and ancestors came out of Nsimbuti (glossed as Arabia) as far as Nyang'oma (a hill, mentioned by all informants as in the neighbourhood of Sena). Some left there and went to Barwe, and then came back again to stay with us. We accumulated riches and had a trade in ivory and bees'-wax, we took it to Sena and the people said, The country is yours. The chief of the Nyang'oma area was Dobvu. We stayed where we pleased anywhere in the country, and many of us at Sena. The first elder was Dangwe, then Mashokosha, Nyamanzi, Chingufashi, Nyapalame, Makuwi, Chipangula; then our people scattered."

There is no memory of the gold trade, and no mention of the Portuguese for good or bad. The mention of chief Dobvu, a Mang'anja frontiersman of less than a century's establishment as far south as the Zambezi foothills, indicates that the series of ancestors, with names in the main unmistakably Bantu, probably includes contemporary heads of different groups in the not very remote past. But the history's lack of sophistication renders it the more notable that it begins in some land beyond Sena. Whether Nsimbuti was explained as Arabia to them by some scholarly and speculative European, or the

Mwenye folk in fact preserved enough geographical knowledge to make the identification themselves, is probably past finding out; but it is not the local Bantu legendary place of origin. The sudden "scattering" was explained by other informants. The Sena community had survived—had in fact been passed over without notice—through the period of barons' wars and Portuguese slave-raiding along the Zambezi. But the government of the Scramble-for-Africa period determined to display effective control. The Amwenye say that they were refused licences to trade, and for that reason left Portuguese territory. One may detect here the new broom zeal of the agents of the chartered companies who undertook to develop the colony on modern lines in the last years of the nineteenth century.

It appears that the migrant Mwenye community amounted to about a dozen households, of whom the majority settled under the Mang'anja chief Nyachikadza just over the Nyasaland border on the right bank of the Shire tributary which joins the Zambezi below Sena. In one respect they found the British administration as repressive as the Portuguese. A ban was laid on the forging of spear and axe heads, and their tools and skill had to be exercised in working bracelets and anklets and the small crescent bladed razors of the country. They found that trade was already firmly in the hands of the Banyan merchants who had followed the first British administrators and their Indian Army garrisons, and who are called Amwenye also by the Mang'anja. One of these Indians, Kassim Juma, found a wife among the Sena immigrants, and her brother Sheha accompanied her to settle beside the store which Kassim built in the hills flanking the Shire. Today Sheha and his two wives and three children live beside the ruins of the store, Kassim's interest having done no more than take them from the midst of their people.

The Mwenye community was completely disrupted in 1938 and the years following, when river floods drowned the bank villages and gardens. But they had then had a generation's experience in Nyasaland. The young men had adapted themselves to local opportunities and conditions, and were able to make new homes for themselves and their elders in scattered villages more remote from the Portuguese border and from flood danger. They are no longer a territorial community.

The observation in the Nyasaland Handbook that "in appearance they used to differ considerably from the purely African tribes, but the difference is fast disappearing" is one that is commonly made on "tribes" in the eastern Bantu area. Evidence accumulates that the range of physical diversity is wide in most tribes; and deeper acquaintance shows that, behind the extremes that catch the eye on first acquaintance, in all groups the main body are of negroid physique. Among twenty men assembled at a funeral two had non-negro facial

contours, three were noticeably light in colour, but all had the African watch-spring hair. The material culture of the Mwenye also conforms to that about them: huts are wattle-and-daub of normal local type, and furnishings of typical Bantu domestic manufacture. In spite of the epigram "The Mwenye eat razors" the households cultivate the common subsistence crops, and smithing is little more than a sideline hobby, no longer practised by the earliest dispersion to the hill villages from the main river-bank settlement.

The households conform to local pattern, in which polygyny is approved and the huts of subordinate wives are adjacent to, but not enclosed in a compound with, the senior wife's hut. The boys approaching puberty have a common sleeping hut, the *gelo*, both name and function being general to the district. The children attend the schools of the South African General Mission, as they have for two generations now. The brother-in-law of Kassim Juma, with apparently every inducement to withdraw from Mission influence, would go no further than to deplore that his son "won't have the Mwenye ways. He wants nothing but school and European ways." The men follow the Nyasaland migratory labor custom, and most have had their period of work in Rhodesia or with some of the European concerns like the Railway, which demand mobility of their staff. This is in part the explanation of the Mission association. The Mwenye folk do not allow their Christian connection to interfere with their marriages or with their formal profession of an Islamic faith; but they find that the Mission school initiates them into the mental world that goes with the up-to-date dress of shirt and shorts, and life under a penetrating European administration.

The Mwenye profession of Islam depends on the observed food tabus, the circumcision of male infants denoted simply by *mwambo waana wathu*—"our custom with regard to children" and the statement: *mkulu wathu ndi Kalonga Muhamadi*—"Our great one is Kalonga Muhamadi." They do not have the Qur'ān or any system of instruction in orally transmitted texts; they do not keep ritual observances of the day or the week, nor the fast of Ramaḍān. They in fact appear to be very thorough-going materialists at their present stage, lacking serious interest in either the beliefs of their fathers or the religions of the people they have come among. They are aware, both through their lessons at school and by the presence locally of small groups of Yao fishermen from the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa, of the existence of the powerful Yao Islamic community not far to the north, but they have made no attempt to join it or to associate with the fisher groups. The *msikiti* or mosque is a feature of Yao villages, but the Mwenye have none, and take no trouble to assemble as a religious community.

The funeral already referred to was that of a junior member of

the principal Mwenye family. Only relatives were present. Such ceremony as was observable amounted simply to taking farewell, and the corpse was buried by the side of a path, in an unoriented grave marked by a cross, on the pattern of the sepulture of the Christianized Mang'anja.

But the title *Kalonga Muhamedi* is of interest. In current Mang'anja and Sena usage, *kalonga* is a term of reference for a district headman. Scott's Mang'anja Dictionary of sixty years ago renders it "A prince, a chief." But in the 18th century the Portuguese recorded that the country north of the Zambezi was ruled by an "Emperor Caronga," a worthy compeer of Monomotapa in southern Zambezia. His people were called maravi, and Mang'anja and Sena are dialects of the Maravi tongue. The transfer of such a title, with its implications of kinship and ancestral authority, to the Prophet, argues both desire to glorify him and some doctrinal haziness.

Though ChiSena is the general speech of the Mwenye, non-Bantu fragments are embedded in it, presumably survivals of another ancestral language. When they spoke of "store cloth" they called it *chakuvete chaANasala*—"Christians' cloth"; and one can recognise in ANasala the Arabic. But curiously enough to the Mang'anja "ANasala" are the Yao Muslims, and "ChiNasala" is the Swahili language. Nobody can explain the transfer. Some male personal names are of Arab origin—Musa, Mstafa, Selemani; of the others, in part they are peculiar to the group—Fatch, Zariwa, Habana; in part common Bantu—Nyamanza, Cipangula, Nguo; and one of the most widely distributed apparently simply an Arabic title: Sheha. The younger generation prefers English names: Henry, Morris, and such rather laboured but clamantly English formations as Greenford, who is son of Sheha. The women's names are all Bantu in appearance and apparently in derivation—Matenda, Mwanaga, Katoya, Chasasa.

In response to direct questioning a scanty set of relationship terms was supplied, but they were not used in any context, though they are Bantu in form:

Parent (m. or f.) *tsakatumbe:* Sibling (m. or f.) *njama:*
Child (m. or f.) *kachache*

Where female had to be specified, each of these terms was followed by the Nyanja qualifying prefix and the stem *-nyande;* and "grandparent" was *tsakatumbe mkulazu.* These are more likely to indicate the Bantu strains which have contributed to the Mwenye stock than to reinforce their claim to extra-African origin.

Yet there is one undeniable item of linguistic evidence to that effect. The cardinal numbers were given as:

1. monji
2. mfinene (Ar, ithnain)

3. msalasa (Ar. thalātha)
4. maruba (Ar. arba'a)
5. manjamshiko

One informant added *mizikamshona, minjuma, takawi, tanjuma,* and *ushtaki* to complete the table to ten; but failed to maintain any consistent order in repetitions. Even in the better established range a pair of informants maintained that *nsolo zinsalasa* was "two eyes." It may be, therefore, taken that these are no longer in common use. *Monji* is without much doubt common Bantu. *Manjamshiko* had the alternative form *mozamshiko,* and *mshiko* was glossed at another time as *banja,* "family." But the other three are obviously Semitic.

Requests for extended written texts in old ChiMwenye from the literate members of the community have been politely evaded. Such extended oral texts as were taken down are suspect, for much was recognisably CiSena, and what was not was inconsistently rendered in translation.

The survival of such fragments bears out that the Mwenye derive from a different source than the Bantu with whom they live and to whom they are now physically assimilated. But the new generation is not notably interested in that past. They have been uprooted and have made a new life for themselves in the modern world of European direction and equipment. They speak English and Portuguese, and value their past more as freeing them from the tribalism around them than as a tradition to be maintained for the inspiration of future generations. They have no desire to be a peculiar people; and, far from being effete and depressed, the material upheavals of this century have stirred them into ambitious activity. It is unlikely that much more about their past will be accessible when the present survivors of the old Zambezi days have gone. The stresses of keeping up with a rapidly developing new civilisation may be expected to be too much for the small unit of the Mwenye people; but it is not unlikely that their freedom from tribal ties in the larger local unit will allow them to emerge as leaders. It will be interesting to see whether a self-conscious interest in modern Islam, evinced by some of the able young men, is more successful than their Christian education in giving them a spiritual background to replace their fathers' social and occupational sense of special enduring worth.

The Handbook of Nyasaland called them a tribe. Their numbers scarcely justify the title, and there is no evidence that they were ever a territorial unit. Socially they offer a remarkable parallel with the Jews in Europe, and it is not impossible that there is a Jewish strain, cultural if not physical, in their mixed ancestry. Like the Jews, they are probably best called a People.

T. Price

Department of African Studies,
The University, Glasgow

A SHORTER DRUZE CATECHISM

[The following abridged Druze Catechism came into the possession of Professor W. B. Stevenson of the University of Glasgow. It is written in not unimpeachable Arabic—probably towards the end of the 19th century. Generally speaking the writing is good. A few minor points do not tally with the Article on the Religion of the Druzes in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.]

"This is a document which concerns the knowledge of the secret of the Religion of the Druze with their belief from beginning to end; it is arranged by way of question and answer."

Q. Are you a Druze?

A. Yes, by the grace of our Lord al-Ḥākim. (May he be praised!)

Q. What is a Druze? or (probably meant) Who was al-Darazi?

A. He was the one who wrote the Covenant; and served our Lord, the Creator.

Q. What is incumbent upon you?

A. Speaking the truth; worship of al-Ḥākim; and the rest of the seven conditions.

Q. How do you know that you are a Unitarian Druze?

A. By eating lawful (things) and leaving unlawful (on one side).

Q. What things are lawful, and what unlawful?

A. Lawful things are the property of the learned and the peasants; unlawful the wealth of Governors and perverts.[1]

Q. How and when was the appearance of our Lord al-Ḥākim?

A. It was in the year A.H. 400.

Q. And how did he appear and say that he was of the seed of Muḥammad, so that he concealed his divinity, and what was the reason for his concealing it?

A. Because they who worshipped him were few and they who loved him not many.

Q. And when did he appear and manifest his divinity?

A. In 408 A.H.

Q. And for how many years did he establish his divinity through divulging it?

A. The entire eighth year; and he absented himself the ninth year, because it was the year of concealment; then he appeared at the beginning of the tenth and eleventh years; then in the twelfth year he hid himself. There is no further appearance until the day of judgment.

Q. What is this day of judgment?

A. It is the day on which he will appear in his humanity and judge the world therein by sword and violence.

Q. When is that to be?

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[1] This must mean that the learned and the peasants may possess property.

A. That is a matter that is unknown, but the signs will be shewn.

Q. What are the signs?

A. When you see kings overthrown and the Christians prevailing over the Muslims; those are the signs.[2]

Q. In what month will this be?

A. It will be in *Jumādā* or *Rajab* (Hijra reckoning).

Q. How will be his rulings concerning (different) groups and sects?

A. He will get the upper hand over them by sword and by violence, and will destroy them all.

Q. And after their destruction, what then?

A. They will bring back a second dominion according to the rules of succession; then he will rule among them as he will.

Q. How will they be while he is ruling among them?

A. There will be four divisions—Christians, Jews, perverts and Unitarians.

Q. How are the groups subdivided?

A. With the Christians are the *Nusairiyya* and the *Mutāwila;* and the Jews, and the Muslims, and the perverts; and those who have adopted the religion of our Lord al-Ḥākim. (praise to him.)

Q. How will he act with the Unitarians?

A. He will give them Government, Royalty, Authority, Wealth; and gold and silver; and they will remain in the world as princes, pashas and sultans.

Q. Why are all the books disowned except the Qur'ān in the presence of anyone making enquiries?

A. Know that we must rely upon the faith of Islam, so we admit the book of Muḥammad; and there is no unsoundness in us for that accordingly; and funereal prayers for the dead are in accord with this reliance and for nothing else. Indeed the purity of the cult demands it.

Q. What do we say about the martyrs, of whom the Christians boast, in the matter of their bravery and their number?

A. We say that Hamza would not seek to find them to bring them near, even should they have continuance in all history.

Q. When they say to us that their religion is firm in accordance with indications more powerful and rhetorical than the words of Hamza, with what shall we answer them?

A. Where are the books and the miracles and the proofs and the success in reaching agreed opinion on the initial stages of all movements; so that we may have an indication as to the appearance of Hamza and others, as the Master of Unitarianism; so beware indeed

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[2] Similar questions and answers may be traced back through al-Nawawī to St. Mark xiii.3 seq.

of becoming an unbeliever, picking up unseemly words of this kind, as if you were in doubt of the sayings of Hamza and his companions. So think for yourself and clarify all the correct proofs of which the Christians boast—and put them far from you!

Q. How do we recognise the honour of the assumption from Hamza ibn 'Alī? (on him be peace!)

A. From his own witness, where he says in the Document of Definition and Information:—"I render lawful the innovations of the Lord and his way. I know his command. I am the path[3] and the revealed book and the pillared house. I am the Companion of the Mission and the Proclamation. I am the one who breathes into the breasts. I am the appointed Leader. I am the Source of grace; the abrogator of laws and their nullifier. I am the destroyer of the worlds. I am the cancellation of the witnesses. I am the burning fire, which falls upon the hearts."

Q. What is the religion which the Druze and the Learned infer?

A. It is the denial of all sovereignty and groups, because we believe in him in whom they disbelieve, as is said in the document of warnings and counsels.

Q. If any individual at all recognises the religion of our Lord, and believes in it, and is guided towards the religion of Unitarianism and acts in accordance therewith, will there be salvation for him?

A. Not at all; because the door has been closed and then the preaching; and when he dies, he returns to his old sect and religion.

Q. When were the souls of all mankind created?

A. They were created after the creation of the Intelligence, who is Hamza ibn 'Alī; then all the spirits were created from his light; and they are limited, without increase or decrease throughout all time.

Q. Is is fitting that Unitarianism should be granted to women?

A. Yes; because the covenant was written for them; and they obey the summons of al-Ḥākim, as is mentioned in the document of the covenant of women, and so too in the document with regard to girls.

Q. What do you say with regard to the sects who say that we worship the Lord who created the heaven and the earth?

A. Although they say this, it is not right with them, because worship apart from knowledge is not right; and if they say without knowing that the Lord is al-Ḥākim himself, then their worship is vain.

Q. Which of the definitions describes the wisdom of the Lord (may he be praised) on whom is built our religion?

A. The description of that is threefold—they are Hamza, Ismā'īl and Bahā' al-Dīn.

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[3] Reading *ṣirāṭ* for *ṣirāt*.

Q. Into how many parts is the Universe divided?

A. Into five; and they are subdivided into several sections—among them are two sections which include all the divisions of the natural sciences: two sections including all religions and the fifth, about which it is said that it is indivisible (and is the largest and the genuine), is the Druze Religion; this is the wisdom of the slave of our Lord, Hamza.

Q. How do we recognise our Unitarian Brother, when we see him or he passes us by in the road, saying that he is one of us?

A. After meeting him and conversation with him and greeting, we say to him, "Are there peasants in your country who plant the *Myrobalan* tree?" and if he says, "Yes, it is planted in the hearts of the believers," then we ask him about his knowledge of the definitions; and if he replies,—all right! and otherwise, he is a stranger!

Q. What are the (five) Definitions (perhaps Preceptors)?

A. The Five Prophets of al-Ḥākim—Hamza, Ismā'īl, Muḥammad the Word, Abū-l-Khair and Bahā' al-Dīn.

Q. Is there any salvation for the "ignorant" among the Druze, or any arrangement by al-Ḥākim, should they die in the state of "Ignorance"?

A. Certainly not; but they will always be in the presence of our Lord in despair and calamity.

Q. What is the point of the compass?

A. It is Hamza ibn 'Alī.

Q. What is the straight path?

A. It is Hamza ibn 'Alī; he is the upholder of the truth; the leader of (all) time; he is mind and pre-existence; the noble prophet and he is the cause of all causes.

Q. Who are the pair—the Ancient and the Eternal?

A. The Ancient is Hamza, and the Eternal his brother, Ismā'īl.

Q. Who are the men of wisdom?[4]

A. The three warners—John, Mark and Matthew.

Q. How many cycles of years are there?

A. Twenty-one years—each (cycle) being seven.

Q. What was their warning?

A. They used to preach the continuance of the true Christ.

Q. How did they greet al-Ḥākim and go into his (presence)?

A. They would say to him, "Greetings, our Lord, greetings to you: you are the most worthy of greeting, and your message is the abode of peace (may you be blessed and exalted)—our Lord, who has majesty and honour."

Q. Who is the Preserver?

A. He is Bahā'al-Dīn; he is also called 'Alī ibn Aḥmad the *Ṣūfī*.

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[4] If the reading is taken as *ḥikmah*.

Q. Who are the Five Wise Virgins?

A. They are Precepts which call existence into being.

Q. Who are the Five Foolish Virgins?

A. They are the Precepts of the Law.

Q. What are the letters of truthfulness and how many are there?

A. They are 164 and constitute the message, being pure and broken (?); they are the prophets for our Lord al-Ḥākim.

Q. What are the letters of the Falsity and what their number?

A. Twenty-six and they are an indication of the Devil and his children and companions—and they Muḥammad and 'Alī, the "Imām" of those who believe in them, the *Mutāwila* and his Twelve Descendants.

Q. What are the three precepts which are unsearched for and unrevealed save in olden time—the time of Hamza?

A. They are the Wish and the Will and the Word; they are John and Mark and Matthew in the cycle of Christ; and they are Miqdar and Da'un ibn Basha and Yarīd al-'Anadī—and in the cycle of Hamza Ismā'īl and Muḥammad the Word and Bahā'al-Din.

Q. What is the meaning of our Lord riding donkeys without saddles?

A. The donkey is the proclamation of the utterer and riding him is a proof of the destruction of the law and its annulment; and in certification of this the Qur'ān says:—"The most disbelieving voice is the voice of the donkeys,"[5] that is the prophets who brought the pure law.

Q. What is the meaning of the clothing of our Lord in black wool?

A. To indicate the love which came with the worship of the Unitarians after him; this is clothing for sorrow.

Q. What are the buildings in Egypt called Pyramids, vested with knowledge?

A. They are the Pyramids which our Lord erected through the wisdom of his will.

Q. What is the wisdom in it?

A. It is for the purpose of arguments and the covenant, which our Lord received from the learned (?), so that he described them there and is preserving them till the day of his second coming.

E. Toftbek

University of Glasgow,
and Nebk, Syria

[5] Surah xxxi.19. The catechism, however, substitutes *akfara* (most disbelieving) for *ankara* (harshest) as the superlative qualifying 'voice.'

SOME ABIDING TEACHINGS OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ

A PAPER PRESENTED TO THE COLLOQUIUM ON ISLAMIC CULTURE

Abū-Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad al-Ghazālī was born in the district of Ṭūs in Khurāsān and lived from 450 to 505 A.H. (1058 to 1111 A.D.). He was one of the outstanding personalities and most brilliant scholars of the Islamic world during the second half of the 11th century and a man whose life and work were exemplary for any true follower of Islam. In the following pages an attempt is made to point out phases of his life and work, which have enduring value.

This short paper does not include a bibliographical study, as sufficient sources are easily available. Adequate reference material for an enquirer is provided in the article on (al) "Ghazālī" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* by D. B. Macdonald and in the reference to al-Ghazālī in the *History of Arabic Literature* by C. Brockelmann, as well as in numerous European monographs. Since the appearance of Macdonald's article, other valuable studies have been published by Goldziher, Wensinck, Gibb and other scholars. One might add the recent translation of *al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl* by W. Montgomery Watt and two translations of *Ayyuha-al-Walad,* one in English by G. H. Scherer (American Press, Beirut, 1933) and the other in French by Tawfīq Ṣabbāgh (Beirut, 1951).

The Islamic sources, such as the biographical works of al-Subkī and Ibn-Khallikan are so well known that they need only be mentioned here. There is a modest but comprehensive work in Arabic by Aḥmad Farīd al-Rifā'ī. It contains a detailed though hastily compiled bibliography, with useful references to al-Ghazālī's teachings and controversies in two volumes. There is also an extra volume of selections from his principal works, which includes the entire text of *al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl.*

I. LITERARY ACHIEVEMENTS OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ

If it had not been for the precedents of Ibn-Sīnā, who died twenty-two years before al-Ghazālī was born, and other prodigious authors, it would be hard to believe that al-Ghazālī accomplished what he did. During the fifty-five years of his disturbed lifetime, al-Ghazālī produced at least a hundred and twenty works, dealing with almost all of the Islamic problems of his period.

Among these books there was his masterpiece, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn,* a monumental work, which one might well call the "Summa Theologica" of Islam. There were also important works like *Al-Wajīz* on Jurisprudence; *Al-Mustaṣfā* on the principles of Scholastic Theology; *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifah* on Philosophy; *Mi'yār al-'Ilm* on Logic;

Tahāfut al-Falāsifah on the refutation of philosophy, and similar works.

Such prodigious intellectual productivity is so impressive that it deserves our deep admiration. This is especially true when one considers the fact that during at least sixteen years of his incessant literary activity al-Ghazālī was not in perfect health. From 484-488 A.H., he was lecturing in the Nizāmīyah College of Baghdad. Then he wandered to Damascus, Jerusalem, and other Islamic centers, far away from his homeland, during a period of political chaos and sectarianism throughout the Islamic world.

It was a time of serious politico-religious uprisings, like that of al-Ḥasan ibn-al-Ṣabbāh and his fanatical followers in Persia. It reveals the strength of mind and firm faith of the master that in spite of such conditions he sought quietude and remained intellectually fruitful, amidst turmoil and social restlessness.

His many works, which are still being read both by Muslims and non-Muslims testify to the spiritual energy of a man of great learning and depth of faith. They reveal the extent to which a sound mind can develop intellectually, even in the midst of most baffling circumstances.

II. QUEST FOR TRUTH

Another noteworthy characteristic of al-Ghazālī's was his sincere quest for true knowledge. All through his life he kept searching for the truth.

First of all he tested his own mental powers. He subjected his thinking to a most rigid examination, with a genuine attempt to find out whether or not he was prejudiced by ideas, which were acquired by imitation and passive allegiance. This examination of his own inner world led him to question not only the validity of his acquired opinions, but also of his sense perceptions. His account of this sceptical procedure in "al-Munqidh" reminds us of the later work of Descartes,—"Discours de la Méthode."

The main goal of al-Ghazālī, like that of Descartes, was not to give expression to scepticism or to question the established tenets of religion, but rather to conduct a search for knowledge, which was both constructive and sincere. This search was the result of a real love of truth. He had a thirst or *ta'aṭṭush* for learning, with the well-defined goal of attaining the truth. In the introduction to "al-Munqidh" he clearly described this spontaneous search for truth when he wrote:—"A thirst for perceiving the truth of things has been my state of mind and wont since the first youthful days of my life." It was because of this genuine inner purpose that al-Ghazālī was able to study and master almost all of the branches of knowledge of his period in an astonishingly comprehensive way. In fact in his own

person he combined the outlooks and problems of the life of his time.

Even more significant was the fact that he was able to discover the way of life for a truly religious man to follow, so as to be prepared to attain that stage, when the supreme truth, the truth of God, becomes evident in the soul. The quest of al-Ghazālī for this supreme truth meant the spiritual ascent of a faithful enquirer, who diligently sought the truth for its own sake. It is hardly necessary to recall that for him the highest attainment of knowledge was the spiritual or divine truth. All other truths were of secondary importance.

One of his cardinal conditions for searching after the truth was to have a mind which was entirely independent. Truth cannot be acquired unless there is a free and spontaneous spirit of investigation. Few scholars have, like al-Ghazālī, set themselves against blind imitation. In almost all of his leading works he renounces slavish and imitative thinking. In *Al-Munqidh* and *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* and especially when refuting the Bāṭinīyah in works like *Fadā'iḥ al-Bāṭinīyah* he renounces imitative knowledge and recommends an investigation which is free and unbiassed. He even concludes his work on logic, *Mi'yār al-'Ilm,* by inviting the reader to study it, not with imitation but with understanding.

III. THE VIA MEDIA, HIS WAY

One may boldly claim that no other Islamic thinker has equalled al-Ghazālī in successfully reconciling the contradictory doctrines of his day, for by finding a reasonable middle way he established harmony. He renounced extremes and one-sidedness. In fact such a surprising state of harmony was attained in his own inner world, that al-Ghazālī the dogmatist and al-Ghazālī the mystic became one. The following paragraphs explain the meaning of the "Via media" in his life.

1. He approved of theology *(kalām)* as the means of rationalistic thinking, to explain and defend faith, and he wrote *Al-Mustaṣfā* and *Al-Iqtiṣād* about it. But he vehemently criticized the idea of regarding *kalām* as an end in itself or as a part of religion. In fact he felt that if used only in the spirit of dialectic, *kalām* might be harmful, leading to zealotism. For him faith was far above the structure of logically demonstrated facts. He even considered hair splitting scholastic theology, based on the subtleties of formal syllogism, to be deceptive, and possibly harmful.

2. He was a master of jurisprudence and compiled three works about it:—*Al-Wajīz, Al-Basīṭ,* and *Al-Wasīṭ.* Although he considered jurisprudence to be useful for the conduct of daily life, he felt that as a canon law it was only a means and not an end. It deals with *'Ilm al-Mu'āmalah,* that is with the practice rather than with the purpose of life.

Thus he removed jurisprudence *(fiqh)* from the position which it had usurped and exposed its casuistry, for it is heartfelt faith which is truly decisive:—"Pectus est quod dicit."

3. He studied philosophy and wrote his *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifah,* (The Purposes of the Philosophers). Thus he brought a hitherto aristocratic science into the open and made it accessible to a diligent reader, who might not have understood the technical phrases of Ibn-Sīnā and Al-Fārābī.

Thus he admired philosophy as an intellectual attempt to solve the riddle of the universe. At the same time he dispelled the mystery which gave it glamor. He made it clear that the supreme truth, the unconditional, the ultimate, cannot be attained by philosophy, for not only reason but also intuition is needed to find the truth.

4. Like the Bāṭinīyah he believed that, although authoritative and divinely inspired leaders can do much to guide our thinking, we must use our own judgment. Imitation prevents originality and slavish knowledge is not real knowledge.

5. In the second quarter of the *Iḥyā,* when speaking about enjoyment of the blessings of our physical world, he referred to the moral and habitual duties of life. In giving this example he said that although we should not neglect the attractions and passions of *'Ālam al-Mulk* (the physical world), we should not overdo them so as to forget *'Ālam al-Malakūt* (the spiritual world). These two worlds are connected, even as the body is connected by some spiritual bond *('alāqah)* with the soul.

Thus when discussing music in the second book of the *Iḥyā* he repudiates what is passionate and worldly, but recommends solemn and spiritual music as a means of awakening noble emotions and helping to attain the stage of exaltation and ecstasy.

6. Even when attempting to explain the higher realm of contemplation about the essential unity of the real universe and the "Unio Mystico," our great thinker assumed a position intermediary between the immanence and the transcendence of God.

He rejected ideas of crude pantheism, such as identification or unification *(ittiḥād),* incarnation *(ḥulūl),* inherence, or joining *(wuṣūl).* At the same time he was convinced that in the vision of an illuminated (gnostic) mystic only God and no one else was the actual reality. Such sublime unification can only be attained when the mind of a mystic reaches ecstatic exaltation.

In *Al-Munqidh* he says:—"The degree of proximity to Deity which they attain is regarded by some as incarnation of being, by others as union and by others as joining, but all of these expressions are wrong. Those who have reached that stage should confine themselves to saying:

"What I experience, I shall not try to describe.
Call me happy, but ask me no more."

or:

"There has happened to me what has happened, I shall not speak,
Think of the good and ask me not for an account of it."

To illustrate the proximity of the external to the internal, of the physical to the spiritual world, in mystic vision, he resorts more than once in the *Iḥyā* to beautiful verse. He likens the physical world to a glass and the spiritual to the wine it contains. Both are so transparent that they seem to be either a glass without wine or else wine without a glass.

Thus even in his chosen way of life, in the way of the mystic, he held to his unique course, that of the Via Media.

7. As a follower of the Shāfi'ī School he also took a middle stand in discussing the part consensus *(Ijmā')* and free judgment *(Qiyās)* should play in Islam. On the one hand, the fundamentals of the faith must not be altered, but on the other hand, the welfare of the public and the exigencies of each generation cannot be neglected. In his classification of the sciences in the opening part of the *Iḥyā* he therefore included *Ijmā'* and *Qiyās,* as parts of religion.

Thus there can be derived from the teachings of al-Ghazālī a sound and reasonable approach to the laws and practices of the faith, so as to meet the needs of every age.

IV. FORMALISM WITHOUT SPIRITUALITY HAS NO MEANING

It is true that al-Ghazālī was the last person to deny the importance of the formal and external performances and even of the rituals of the Faith. Forms of worship, fasting, the pilgrimage, almsgiving, and prayers are all necessary and obligatory for every true believer. But it must be borne in mind that these things are only the outer forms of an inner world. They are merely expressions. It is the innermost inclination, the really sincere faith, faith in truth, faith in God, which is decisive. Of what use are numerous and formal rites without the great inner experience, which is spiritual? Religion is a sincere inner life. Rites and forms are only its outward symbols.

In the opening section of *Al-Munqidh,* al-Ghazālī combats pure formalism and condemns those formalists *(al-Mutarassimūn)* who employ lengthy expressions for prayer, dialectical defense of faith and other pious exercises, without the light of an inner life. In the *Iḥyā* and other works he repeatedly returns to this great theme.

V. RELIGION IS A WAY OF LIFE, NOT A SYSTEM OF FORMALITIES AND RITUALS

Although al-Ghazālī was not the only Muslim authority who considered that work and deeds were the most decisive expressions of the

religious life, he was surely the most emphatic supporter of this truth. Many Western writers have confined their opinions of Islam within the narrow limits of expressions such as,—confession of faith, fasting, prayer, almsgiving, and pilgrimage.

Actually few religions in the world have placed so much emphasis upon the importance of good deeds and usefulness as has Islam. It is unfortunate that this aspect of the doctrine of Islam has not been given due consideration. There are no less than forty-seven verses in twenty-four different Surahs of the Qur'ān in which faith *(al-Imān)* is mentioned along with works *(al-A'māl)*. The usual form of these verses is—"Those who believe and do good works." (Inna alladhīna āmanū wa 'amilū al-ṣāliḥāt.)

The reiteration of this truth by al-Ghazālī is conspicuous throughout his works, but especially when he discusses the nature and classification of knowledge in Bāb al-'Ilm of the *Iḥyā*. Over and over again he emphasizes the fact that truly useful work and genuine faith are inter-dependent. Even if a Muslim spiritual leader possesses all knowledge about law, philosophy and eschatology, his life will be worthless—perhaps sometimes harmful, unless he acts in accordance with the cardinal teachings of the Faith.

I shall conclude by recapitulating briefly what I have said about al-Ghazālī's doctrines as a whole.

Religious knowledge does not consist in logical and hair-splitting arguments or in the subtleties of Scholastic Theology. It is not the casuistry of formal jurisprudence or the rationalization of philosophy. It is attained by the truly sincere efforts of a mind, which earnestly seeks to discover the truth.

The last stage of this quest can only be reached through the deeply personal and innermost experience of a vision of God, when the human mind is in a state of ecstasy. It is more a matter of gnosis *('irfān)* than of syllogistic knowledge *('ilm)*. It must be centered in the heart rather than in the intellect.

It was in fact chiefly due to al-Ghazālī that the vision of the mystic and the concept of knowledge through intuition became accepted by official Islam.

Religion calls man to search for the truth with an open heart and clear vision, rather than with blind imitation or prejudice. Religion is neither the verbal confession of some creed nor a series of ritualistic acts. These things are merely the expressions of religion, which are necessary as means, but are not themselves the ends.

Worship ('ibādah) is sincere service and usefulness throughout a life time. True religion is thus sincere faith in God, devotion to God and his truth, and useful work.

Teheran and New York S. R. SHAFAQ

BOOK REVIEWS

Muhammad at Mecca. By W. Montgomery Watt. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1953. pp. xvi and 192.

The author says that his book is addressed primarily to the historian. The points on which he concentrates are the economic and social life of Mecca. He has performed a useful service in sorting out the clans of Quraysh, their parties, and attachments. He finds that their influence as a tribe was due to the military forces at their command. Their extensive foreign trade required the services of large numbers of other Arabs as guides, escorts, and so on, and the money they paid out for safe conduct through the territory of other tribes inevitably attracted large numbers of fighting men to their side. He makes the comment that Abraha's abortive expedition to destroy the Ka'ba was probably as much a trade war as a religious crusade. These commercial ventures brought about partnerships which cut across blood ties and so had a disruptive effect on the fundamental principle of Arabian society. Dr. Watt's observations on the stresses and strains of social and economic solidarity brought about by financial alliances bring to the fore a factor of considerable importance, though it is possible to exaggerate it.

The author seems to me to underrate the attachment of Quraysh to the heathenism of their forefathers. A historian must on the one hand remember the constant reproach levelled against Muḥammad that he was condemning the religion of his forefathers, and on the other hand that when the first biography of the prophet that we possess was written the grandsons and great-grandsons of these men were occupying the highest positions in the state, and therefore the note of heathenism had to be played softly. Moreover, what were the ceremonies of the *ḥajj* but the practices of heathenism, and how were Quraysh to know that Muḥammad in the day of his power would deal so liberally with those who superintended its rites?

I can find no authority for the suggestion that in pre-Islamic times men were not greatly concerned with the fate of the individual. The poetry of this era consists largely of the boasting of an individual who is representative of his tribe and to say that to pass from 'tribal humanism' to individual humanism was impossible without a belief in immortality seems to me to go beyond the evidence. Of course, when Islam came and substituted Muslim brotherhood for tribal solidarity something of the kind would be necessary, but why should the Mecca of the 7th century need anything of the kind? Blood revenge, the very essence of tribal solidarity, is an indissoluble union of individualism and 'tribal humanism,' and when Imru ul-Qays, denied blood revenge by the oracle at Tabāla, broke the lot and threw the pieces in the face of the god he was individualistic to the core.

It is when one comes to Dr. Watt's words on Muḥammad's prophetic consciousness that one feels misgivings. He writes: "We cannot with any plausibility imagine him inserting verses *of his own composition* (the italics are his) among those which came to him from this [supernatural] source independent of his consciousness (as he believed)." Now Dr. Watt claims to be writing as a historian; consequently the reader has the right to expect that when a statement of

this kind is made all the relevant historical evidence should be set forth. For instance one of Muḥammad's wives is reported to have said that the revelations he received were remarkably in accord with his own wishes. Again the reader has the right to be told more of the philological evidence of the foreign informant's influence of which the Quraysh complained.[1] One can sympathize with the writer's desire to spare the feelings of Muslims but would it not have been better to set out the evidence without any discussion of Muḥammad's sincerity? The fact that the chapter *Joseph* is practically identical with a Jewish *midrāsh* was established beyond question by Geiger more than a century ago: it is also a historical fact that the Khawārij refused to admit that it was a divine revelation. Again, one is entitled to ask why, if the verses of the Qur'ān were not Muḥammad's own composition, did he drop the use of *saj'*, the style of the *kāhins* and *shā'irs*, as soon as he was accused of being one of them? Is it credible that the change was made apart from his own volition? Of course it is plain that the Qur'ān contains much that is of the essence of divine truth and there is good ground for believing that Muḥammad did from time to time have psychic experiences which he afterwards put into the haunting cadences of the Qur'ān.

Dr. Watt's chapter on the development of the message of the Qur'ān is interesting, and his point that opposition to Muḥammad could not have shown itself until he proclaimed a principle which gave rise to hostility is cogent and useful in attempting to arrange the chapters of the Qur'ān in a chronological order. He cites the statement of the very early authority, 'Urwa, that Quraysh were well disposed to Muḥammad until he mentioned their idols; and that it was a body of Quraysh landowners from al-Ṭā'if who stirred up the opposition to him. Dr. Watt thinks that the reference to al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā, and Manāt in Surah 22.51, was not an attack on the worship of the Ka'ba. If this means the rites of the *ḥajj*, doubtless there is something to be said for his view; but if it means, as in the context it seems to, that Quraysh were indifferent to attacks on these goddesses because their principal centres were outside Mecca, it is contradicted by Ibn al-Kalbī who says of al-Lāt and Manāt that "Quraysh and all the Arabs venerated ('aẓẓam) them"; while he says of al-'Uzzā that she was the most important (a'ẓam) idol among Quraysh; and we are told that Abū Sufyān marched against the Muslims at Uḥud carrying al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā with him, as Dr. Watt notes. Nevertheless there is much to be said for Dr. Watt's suggestion that in the 'satanic verses' Muḥammad originally thought of trying to gain adherents outside Mecca by giving these goddesses a place within Islam. Still, as Muḥammad's heart was always kindly towards Mecca there is no reason to reject Ibn Isḥāq's statement that he made this temporary concession out of his deep desire to win over his people to Islam, and there is room for both motives.

It is a long time since a book has appeared in English on the life of Muḥammad, and if this review appears to be somewhat critical it is because the importance of the subject demands a most careful examination. Whether one agrees with Dr. Watt or not it is beyond doubt that he has written a stimulating and informative book which

[1] *Cf. BSOAS.*, 1934, p. 599 f.

will provoke both thought and further research. The excursuses, which must have given the author much labour, are of great value.

ALFRED GUILLAUME

School of Oriental and African Studies, London University

Geschichte der Islamischen Länder. Erster Abschnitt: Die Chalifenzeit. Entstehung und Zerfall des Islamischen Weltreichs. Von Bertold Spuler. (Handbuch der Orientalistik, herausgegeben von Bertold Spuler. Sechster Band.) Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1952. pp. 119+tables, bibliography, index; and 6 maps.

A work surveying Islamic history is something of an event. Indeed, teachers have long been puzzled as well as embarrassed by the paucity, not to say absence, of studies devoted to this matter. Monographs on some aspects (not all) have been forthcoming (they are ably surveyed in Sauvaget's *Introduction à l'histoire de l'orient musulman: éléments de bibliographie,* 1946). Yet neither has the student had available much by way of introduction to the whole sweep, nor the scholar much by way of the stimulus of over-all interpretation and the challenge of conspectus. In fact, only one book, Brockelmann's *History of the Islamic Peoples* (German 1939, Eng. trans. 1947) even claims to be a comprehensive account; and it on the one hand omits India as well as everything further east (with the scantiest of footnote apologies in passing), and on the other hand avowedly confines itself chiefly to political events (with the emphasis on modern events, at that: two-fifths of the work deals with the 19th and 20th centuries; cf. Kirk's *Short History of the Middle East,* 1948, where the proportion is three-quarters); it is a chronicle rather than a real history, the work of an outstanding compiler. Hitti's *History of the Arabs* (1937; 5th ed., 1952) is more than its title implies: it concerns itself with all Islamic history "to the end of the Middle Ages," though with a pronounced Arab bias; it includes so much detailed material, on varied aspects, that it is certainly an important reference book, yet it cannot be called a history of Islam. Bernard Lewis's little *The Arabs in History* (Hutchinson's University Library, 1950) comes closer; in an unpretentious way it marks a very significant step from chronology to history and from descriptive exposition to analytic understanding. Yet it comes closer also to conforming to its particularistic title: its subject is indeed the Arabs, not the Muslims.

When Bertold Spuler, then, set himself to writing this "history of the Islamic countries," of which part 1 is now before us, he had a fairly open field in front of him. Behind him he had an impressive enough historical scholarship, evinced in his recent works, especially on the Persians and Mongols in Islamic times. Since no one studying Islam can possibly ignore the Arabs, while the Arabs themselves and their admirers have shown us that their study of Islam can in fact ignore the others, or virtually so, it might seem, therefore, an initial advantage that Spuler approaches this task with his extra-arabist background. Yet perhaps this is relevant to the chief criticism that we shall advance below.

This work constitutes the first part of volume VI of a new series entitled "Handbuch der Orientalistik": Spuler is himself the editor of the whole project, as well as the author of this sub-section. A second part of the same "volume" is advertised, subtitled *Die Mongolenzeit;* it also is to be by Spuler. How many more parts are to follow,

and whether they will be from the same or from a different hand, is not indicated. Of the first five volumes of the series, only part 2 ("Literature") of volume I ("Egyptology") has so far appeared.

The present study is short. It covers Islamic developments from the prophet to the fall of Baghdād, including Spain, in barely a hundred pages. Not much that is new can, therefore, find room; what is striking is the new pattern of emphasis. For example: for the Arab-Islamic appropriation of Iran, the actual conquest, with brief references to the battles of Qādisīyah and Nihāvand, gets two paragraphs, while the dynamics of the social role of the Zarathustrian clergy, of the state structure, of the landlords, and of the new religious relationships, are given substantial treatment, which includes insights of remarkable interest and which help towards explaining analytically the gradual unfolding of a process. Also new and of high interest are the folding maps, which in multiple colour and considerable detail give compact and illuminating information of an economic and demographic sort.

One must praise this author, then, for breaking with the traditional pattern of Islamic history as it has been formally and rather statically conceived, and investigating and giving weight to those factors which in the modern world are seen as influencing or constituting historical development; his virtue lies in that the presentation which he offers is (a) dynamic and (b) understandable.

Our criticisms would be that he has not gone far enough. For instance: his account of 'Uthmān's and 'Alī's times and the transition to the Umawī régime is, for a brief statement, in substance effective and convincing. Yet in form he adheres, and indeed in general spirit, to the standard outline which reckons 'Alī as head of the Islamic community until 661, and Mu'āwiyah as head from that date. Is this an historical description of the actual facts and their development (as he himself presents them), or even of contemporary conviction; or is it rather the idealized interpretation of later orthodoxy and political theory? It is not clear to this reviewer that an historian as such should, in describing what was (leaving on one side, of course, both *sunnī* and *shī'ī* persuasions as to legitimacy, as to what ought to be), include the period from the murder of 'Uthmān to the murder of 'Alī along with the preceding régimes, and within a concept of *khilāfah* at all, *rāshidah* or otherwise. It was rather a period of confusion, when both the concept and the concrete power of government in what later turned out to be the Islamic system were still being created. A case might be made for considering the Umawī régime to have begun shortly after 'Umar's death. Similarly, both Zubayr and his son are treated here as essentially rebels against the established order, though this traditional assessment is later hindsight: the author does not make it as clear as he might that that order was *established,* in reality, only after, and in so far as, their movements were suppressed. A similar point may be made with regard to the Mukhtār movement: Spuler is to be congratulated for giving this important 'Irāqī upsurge as much space as he does (some standard histories do not even mention it), though criticized for keeping it nonetheless within the traditional framework. Our point is that these "uprisings" are significant not only in that they occurred, indicating a major movement of social forces and of ideas, but also in that they were defeated, indicating the gradual achievement of a unified and effective government.

These criticisms are not offered as captious. (One could pick out, though we noticed few, errors such as Map 3 giving all of Arabia to Muḥammad before his death.) Rather, they add up, in our judgement, to a solid objection. Although this study does convey to a remarkable degree a sense of historical movement within the first Muslim centuries, making intelligible the changes that took place in Islam (as a politico-social force) during that time, yet it does not make intelligible, does not ultimately consider, the fundamental development that the whole story is all about: Islam as a politico-social force itself. This, and the main outlines of its development, are rather taken for granted. The reader is not left with a sense of the profound creativity that gradually over these early centuries brought about the political, social, economic, artistic, ideological, and personalist structure that constituted in the Near East the great new emergence of Islam in its developed sense. It did not all spring full-grown from the mind of Muḥammad or the pages of the Qur'ān: the state and civilization which eventually arose were a positive achievement, inspired by the prophet and the book but effected only with effort, only through trial and error, and only by a series of generations and out of a wide assortment of materials. The reader of this book is not vividly made a spectator of that central accomplishing—even though he is rather effectively made a participant in various aspects of its outworking.

One may judge that this is probably going to be the best introductory Islamic history book that has so far appeared, yet regretfully opine that it is still far from good enough. (Maybe this first section and Hitti's abridgement *The Arabs* would together make a good introduction for the early centuries, supplementing and correcting each other.) But it is a mighty subject, and it awaits a mighty historian.

The question is inevitable, whether the work should be made available in English. An answer may await the completion of its subsequent parts. In the meantime, one might tentatively suggest that *The Muslim World* or its like would do a service to students if it could reproduce translated versions of some of the maps, and, secondly, suggest that there is still an urgent need for someone to do justice more approximately, and if possible in English, to the early history of Islam.

WILFRED CANTWELL SMITH

McGill University,
Montreal, Canada

Mystique Naturelle et Mystique Surnaturelle en Islam. By Louis Gardet.[1]
Quelques Textes Ṣūfis Concernant L'"Extase". By Louis Gardet. Extrait de la *Revue Thomiste* 1950, No. 1, pp. 172-179.

These articles set forth and illustrate a threefold analysis of Ṣūfī experience which is said to embrace all phases of Islamic mysticism, and to assign a positive value to each.

I. *Natural.* To lose himself in the Divine Essence the seeker divests himself of all outward things, of himself as object, and finally of himself as subject, "as a serpent divests itself of its skin" (Bisṭāmī). But the substantial Divine Unity proves inaccessible, and the self-emptied soul is filled with ecstatic sadness.

[1]The first pamphlet bears no formal indication of its source. At the bottom of the front page there is a printer's identification: RECHERCHES SCIENCE REL. XXXVII—11. The page numbers are 321-365.

II. *Supernatural.* Ascetic practices may be employed, but they can be only preparatory; they must be abandoned, giving place to a God-inspired solitude which opens the way for the incoming of Divine Love.

The first form of experience is ontological, seeks a substantial unification, and in attaining it would obliterate the self; the second is personal, and seeks the unity of Love. The first is attained by natural powers, and follows a technique of which the outcome is sure; the second is utterly dependent on the Divine grace, and man can but desire and have faith. In the first the seeker is unable to attain the Unity of Being which he seeks, and the temptation is to accept sad ecstasy as the goal; the second finds its consummation in the experience of the Divine Love vouchsafed the seeker.

III. *Later Intermingling.* The first path is pursued beyond the stages of self-annihilation and ecstasy to an absolute existential climax in which a transcendental substitution of Being is declared, and to this monistic conceptual experience the terms belonging to supernatural mysticism are applied. Expressions which appear to be pantheistic are not truly such, but are used of this ultimate state.

Bisṭāmī is an example of the first type, al-Ḥallāj of the second, Ibn 'Arabī of the third; al-Ghazālī describes the second. Indian influences do not need to be presupposed to account for the first type of mysticism, or Christian influences to account for the second; development of natural human powers and rapt meditation on certain Quranic verses are sufficient. Because the grace of God cannot be limited, it is not impossible that traces of the Supernatural should appear in connection with experiences otherwise natural.

The second article is based on the chapter concerning the "Ecstasy" in al-Kalābadhī's *Kitāb al-ta'arruf lī madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf* (translation by Arberry: *Doctrines of the Sufis,* Cambridge, 1935). It presents citations describing experience of the first type in which the seeker perseveres beyond the ecstasy, and it makes evident the incompatibility of these existential states as they become more precisely defined with the authentic Presence of God of which experience of the second type speaks.

JOHN E. MERRILL

Pittsfield, Mass.

The Baptistère de Saint Louis, a Masterpiece of Islamic Metal Work. By D. S. Rice. With drawings and photographs by the author. Les Editions du Chêne, Paris, 1953. In portfolio. pp. 30, 26 figs., 40 pls.

This handsome, well-illustrated monograph deals with a metal basin which had been for many centuries in the possession of the royal family of France before it became a treasure of the Musée du Louvre in 1852. In the second half of the 18th century its early use at baptisms led to the designation "Baptistère de St. Louis" which, though erroneous, is the name by which this piece is generally known. The vessel has been dealt with in literature since the 18th century, but this is the first thorough investigation which reveals its full beauty and establishes its historical context. Made of either brass or bronze (Rice gives both of these metals as the raw material of which the vessel is made, see pages 9 and 12), the piece is richly inlaid with silver and some gold. The main scenes show on the outside groups of amīrs

of Tatar origin and Egyptian huntsmen and servitors attending a sultan (not represented), while the interior is decorated with battle and hunting scenes, and, on the bottom, with a stylized but very imaginatively conceived aquatic design. Although there is a great deal of further decorative enrichment around these major subjects, the piece does not contain any inscription besides the six signatures of the artist Muḥammad ibn al-Zain. Rice is therefore forced to use stylistic means and particularly costumes and coats of arms to come to specific conclusions about the country of origin, date and interpretation of this piece. Using every possible clue, he attributes it to the period between 1290 and 1310 and regards it as a masterpiece of the Syro-Egyptian school of the Mamlūk period. Naturally, final assurance about various explanations is not possible, but the author's discussion reveals at once that he is fully acquainted with the Arabic historical sources and related artistic material, so that his final conclusions not only seem very reasonable but as convincing as one can possibly make them at this time.

The short but succinct monograph is very well written. Not only specialists but everybody interested in medieval Muslim history and art will read the text with undiminished, keen interest. Every step in the discussion is well illustrated with the author's beautiful line drawings and magnificent photographic enlargements of groups and individual figures. In studying these, many readers will probably be astonished to see so much action and characterization of individual figures in what is generally thought to be harsh and unyielding material. The book, now offered in an English version, after the French edition of 1951, is highly recommended as an outstanding contribution in the fields of Islamic civilization, history, and art.

Richard Ettinghausen

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington

The Arab World. By Nejla Izzedin, Chicago. Henry Regnery Company, 1953. pp. xiv and 412, 19 illustrations, $6.50.

At the risk of repeating the most hackneyed cliché used by reviewers, one must begin by saying that this book has been long overdue. There have been several Histories of the Arabs, and there have also been some books devoted to one aspect—generally political—of one or more Arab states. But this is the first attempt to give a rounded picture of the Arab people as a whole, in their present day living conditions.

The author is well qualified for the task undertaken. A Lebanese Druze, born in Egypt, she has taught in Lebanon and Iraq and supervised women's education in Kuwait. Her intimate knowledge of several Arab countries has been given form and perspective by a distinguished academic training, including graduation in history at Vassar, a doctorate in anthropology from Chicago and the editing of medieval Arabic historical texts. Moreover, for a couple of years, Miss Izzedin toured the U.S. and Canada, lecturing on Palestine and other Arab questions, and acquiring much experience in interpreting the Arab world to Americans. The result of this background—and of years of hard work—is a book which is thoroughly scholarly, easy to read and glowing with a sympathy for its subject which only a woman could achieve.

Following an introduction by Professor Hocking, there comes a chapter describing the geographical environment, two extremely interesting chapters on the flowering of medieval Arab culture and four less interesting chapters on its stagnation and subsequent revival. Then follow individual country studies covering Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, Iraq, the Arabian peninsula, Palestine and North Africa. In these, an attempt is made to sketch economic, social and cultural developments as well as to indicate the main political struggles of the last thirty five years. Two chapters are devoted to Arab Unity and the position of the Great Powers; the most interesting question discussed here is the reason for the neutralism of the Arabs in the Cold War. One can disagree with several of the author's statements—and this reviewer definitely does disagree with some—but they should be read and pondered by all those who are anxious to understand, rather than to obtain the emotional satisfaction of righteous indignation.

The Arab Woman gets a chapter all to herself and the book concludes with an account of the problems still awaiting a solution; this is aptly entitled: The Greater Struggle.

A careful combing failed to discover any more serious factual errors than that there are "over 400 million Moslems" (there are not), that the glass factory at Damascus "has a production potential sufficient to supply the whole Middle East," or that "two thirds of the population of Lebanon live on agriculture," the proportion being nearer one half. A more serious criticism is that the author seems unaware of some of the difficulties lying ahead of the Arabs. An illustration is the statement that "Arab women are, on the whole, at peace with their society and in harmony with their environment;" this may be a correct description of the present situation but it is becoming less and less true as the emancipation for which Arab women are striving gathers momentum. But even this criticism must be qualified in view of the frank and critical discussion in the last chapter. Altogether this is a book to be highly recommended.

It might be added that the book is well produced and contains some excellent photographs too many of which, however, are of Heads of State: these could, with advantage, have been replaced by illustrations of everyday activity in fields, workshops and schools. There are also numerous misprints of authors' names and of French and Spanish words, which should be corrected in subsequent editions.

CHARLES ISSAWI

New York

The Numismatic History of Late Medieval North Africa. By Harry W. Hazard, (Numismatic Studies, No. 8), New York, The American Numismatic Society, 1952, pp. 377 + 1 loose page of corrigenda and addenda, 8 pls. $10.00.

This extensive study, which has grown out of a Princeton doctoral thesis, covers a territory bounded on the south by the Sahara and on the east by the desert and bay which separate Cyrenaica from Tripolitania. It starts with the year 439 H./A.D. 1047, when the Zīrids in Tunisia revolted against their Fāṭimid overlord and ends with the Ottoman conquest of Algeria and Tunisia and the Sharīfian victory over the Waṭṭāsids in Morocco in the 16th century. Also included are the coins of Spain when it was ruled by North African

Muslims, and the coinage of Spanish-Muslim dynasties (such as the Ḥammūdids, Hūdids and Naṣrids) when minted in North Africa. On the whole the author deals, therefore, mainly with the coins of the Zīrid, Murābiṭ (Almoravid), Muwaḥḥid (Almohad), Ḥafṣid, Ziyānid, Marīnid and Waṭṭāsid dynasties.

The core of the study is the corpus of 1174 coins, of which 870 are of gold, with the rest mostly of silver, as little copper had been minted or at least survived, and a few Murābiṭ coins made of electrum remained an unusual feature. The material investigated is based on earlier publications and the unpublished holdings in America, especially those of the American Numismatic Society and the Hispanic Society of America. In several instances the author speaks of the scarcity of the surviving (or at least published) material, or even its non-existence, though we know from the historical sources that certain coins were minted; of the Ḥammādids of Eastern Algeria (A.D. 1014-1152), for instance, not a single coin has come down to us and this even after their capital had been partially excavated; and no silver or copper can be ascribed to the Ziyānids who ruled Western Algeria for more than 300 years. Still, it can be assumed that there must be many unpublished coins in local private collections or in the bazaars of the old North African towns and even before archaeologists have unearthed new hoards the author might have a chance to collect addenda to his work during a visit to the territory itself.

Preceding the corpus are a number of introductory chapters providing the historical background of the period, lists of and comments about mint towns in North Africa and Spain (which are also shown on a special map), titles, proper names, epithets, conventional inscriptions, and finally general statements on epigraphy and ornamentation, minting technique and metrology. Then follows a lengthy chapter on the rulers and their coinage, with chronological lists and genealogical charts. Since the focus of interest is on political and dynastic history, the author goes here well beyond the mere listing of names, dates, and mints, and gives very telling interpretations of the changes in formulas, shapes, styles of writing, weights, and the abundance or lack of specific coinage, within the over-all historical picture.

The book closes with several very extensive bibliographies covering not only the numismatic literature but also the historical Arabic sources, inscriptions, documents and modern monographs and no less than ten different indices. All this well-organized material and an elaborate reference system shows an unusual thoroughness in trying to cover every possible approach and interest, even going to the extent (in the chapter on proper names) of translating Arabic proper names into English. The net result of this survey is very rewarding, as it provides not only much larger coin series than hitherto known, but often clarifies or supplements the information given by the literary sources. It is therefore a pleasant task to announce this American contribution to a field which so far was practically the domain of French and Spanish writers.

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington

The Prickly Pear. By Eric G. Fisk, M.C., London, Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1951, pp. 128.

A book of narrative and reflection on the tasks of proclaiming the Christian Gospel in a Muslim land. The author borrows the simile of the camel indifferent to the prickles as it devours the pear for the fruit within is sweet. Likewise the missionary must cultivate a sublime indifference to all deterrents and scars, in the pursuit of his service to Islam. Exacting and arduous as the task may be the way of dependence upon the Holy Spirit is the way that wins. The author writes against the background of Morocco and discusses the significance for others of his own experiences.

Hafiz of Shiraz. Thirty Poems, translated by Peter Avery and John Heath-Stubbs. London, John Murray, 1952, pp. 66.

A slim volume in The Wisdom of the East Series, with a short introduction, which summarises recent theories of the colloquial nature of Ḥāfiẓ' poems and presents a suggestive analysis of the principles of composition whereby "it is as if a necklace of images has at last been clasped and the end gathered into the beginning." (p.14). If "to please by subtleties of speech is the gift of God," this book and its translators are much blessed.

What Price Israel. By Alfred Lilienthal, Chicago, Henry Regnery & Co., 1953, pp. 274, $3.95.

The author assesses the price of the establishment of Israel mainly from the standpoint of its moral and spiritual compromise of the true genius and quality of Judaism as a faith and an ethos independent of territorial expression. It is this internal aspect of Zionism within Jewry rather than the fact of Arab refugeedom, and other forms of Israeli costliness vis-a-vis the Arabs, with which he is concerned. He writes as an American Jew for whom Israel should live not on one soil but in the souls of men. He traces with frankness the pressure of Zionist influence in American domestic politics, and makes articulate the dilemma implicit for world Jewry in the establishment of a Jewish State.

Survey of African Marriage and Family Life. Edited by Arthur Phillips, Oxford University Press (for the International African Institute), 1953, pp. 462, Index and Map.

This comprehensive inquiry into African marriage is the result of an initiative taken by the International Missionary Council, the International African Institute, the Carnegie Corporation and the Colonial Social Research Council, and other bodies. Dr. Lucy Mair writes on African Marriage and Social Change, and the Rev. Lyndon Harries on Christian Marriage in African Society. Arthur Phillips contributes a Chapter on Marriage Laws in Africa as well as an Introductory Essay. The only extended discussion of Muslim marriage is Section 11 of Part 2, pp. 232-240, though there are scattered references elsewhere. The relation between Muslim and customary

law is briefly discussed, and the great variety of adaptation is noted. Though "woman's legal personality is more clearly recognised by Muslim law . . . the superior status of the Muslim wife in respect of individual contractual capacity is not reflected in the conditions of married life." (p. 235) The third Part of the work on the promotion of the Christian ideal of marriage in Africa is perhaps the most fascinating. The whole volume represents a painstaking and pioneer study, admirably executed and presented.

The World and the West. By Arnold Toynbee, Oxford University Press, New York, 1953, pp. 99, $2.00.

It may be well to await the fully documented discussion of this timely theme, promised by the author in the concluding volumes to his Magnum Opus, *The Study of History,* which are to be published later this year. For this bald summary is satisfying in its range of movement but disconcerting in its selectiveness. The lecture on *Islam and the West* begins with the dubious idea of Islam as a Christian heresy and goes on to think entirely in terms of Turkey. Its final paragraphs, however, raise the urgent point as to the incompatibility of nationalism with the Islamic tradition of universalism. Yet the creation of Pakistan, with its unmistakeable thesis that political unity with India was inconsistent with the life and meaning of Islam—though the author here attributes that creation to "our Western nationalism staying on in India"—demonstrates that contemporary Islam is in much internal tension with its own genius. Perhaps we shall hear more of this in the eagerly awaited Volumes to come.

The Freya Stark Story. Published by Coward-McCann, New York, 1953, pp. 374, $6.75.

"I wanted space, distance, history and danger, and I was interested in the living world." So writes the author in her note to this condensation of her previously published *Traveller's Prelude, Beyond Euphrates,* and *The Coast of Incense.* Admirable dimensions and found to the full in her chosen Arab East. Travel is a great spur to autobiography since it links the span of personal life with intriguing vistas of humanity, and thus overcomes the diffidence of unimportance, giving the writer ample cause to speak and the great world a new interpretation and a voice. When the traveller is equipped with the tenacity of a Freya Stark and her gifts of discerning observation and description something both precious and delightful results in which the reader shares the rewarding quality of his guide's experience of the world.

One has only to add the dimension of love to those of distance, history and danger to be in a New Testament relation with men. Those who humbly aspire after that final dimension of life, in the Arab East, have much to learn of its story and its folk from this charming travelogue. They have also a model of fine writing.

An Arabic Reader. Issued by the Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, Beirut, American Press, 1953, pp. 34.

An unvowelled edition of the earlier vowelled Arabic Reader published by the Shemlan Centre, and based on the first thousand

words of Arabic vocabulary for foreigners prepared by the same institution. It contains simple passages for reading and translation.

Bibliography on South-Western Asia. By Henry Field, University of Miami Press, 1953, pp. 106.

A little over 3,000 books and articles on 'Anthropogeography,' Zoology and Botany of the region from Suez and Istanbul to the eastern border of Afghanistan are listed, with an index of authors. Over 600 widely scattered journals have been drawn upon, by an author who is a veteran bibliographer.

The Report of Lello, Third English Ambassador to the Sublime Porte. Edited by Orhan Burian, Ankara, 1952. English and Turkish text.

Enriched with several photostat illustrations of the original manuscript, this University of Ankara publication presents a diplomat's report on Ottoman affairs at the end of the 16th century. During his term of office Anglo-Turkish relations reached a low point despite the ambassador's "keen eye for events and personalities."

The Need for Islamic Studies. By John Houben, S.J., Ph.D. Reprinted from Scientia Missionum Ancilla, Utrecht, Holland. 1953. pp. 11.

Can power be "too deeply uprooted?" Maybe this is one of those cases where language succeeds in spite of itself. The author in this brief article discusses Muslim orthodoxy as an abiding deterrent to effective 'modernism' in all realms of life. He makes a sound and urgent point when he remarks: "The ones in Muslim countries who most of all lacked freedom of conscience were often the Muslims themselves." Islam is passing through a many-sided crisis making fuller Islamic study in the West imperative.

A Survey of American Interests in the Middle East. Edited by Frances C. Mattison, The Middle East Institute, Washington, 1953, pp. 120, $2.75.

This useful book might well have been called American Interests and Disinterests in the Middle East, since the sense in which the word 'interests' is used of the commercial concerns which occupy well over half the pages merits the term 'disinterest' in relation to the rest, that is, to the schools, hospitals and other spheres of Christian ministry to mind and heart. The unhappy comprehension of these diverse activities, under a title which only fits some, is the only lament this book may arouse. But it is one which should be voiced. All too freely the Church is classified with national concerns and its supra-national quality forgotten. Embarrassing in the infelicity of its title, the compilation is in every other respect competent and will be welcomed by all who want to know what all kinds of Americans are doing in the area, who they are, where they live and how they are organised.

Miniatures from the Reign of Bāyazīd II. (In a Ms. of the Upsala University Library). By Carl J. Lamm, reprinted from Orientalia Suecana, Upsala, 1952, pp. 19, 16 plates.

The editor describes the miniatures and gives a summary of the text, being stories of the Prince Khusraw and his lover Shīrīn.

The style is that of the school of Herāt, whose influence on both Mūghal painting and Ottoman art seems to have been considerable. Lions are slain, polo played, and mountains hewed before the lovers are united, and parted in death.

Preliminary Sketch of an Investigation in N.E. and S.W. Arabia. By Van Der Meulen, reprinted from Tijdschrift Van Het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, Vol. LXXX, No. 1, 1953.

A brief sketch in Dutch, with English summaries, of some areas of Arabia, with map and photographs, which concentrates on recent engineering developments, roads and experimental farms.

La Mention du Nom Divin dans la Mystique Musulmane. By L. Gardet. Extrait de la Révue Thomiste, 1953, No. 1, pp. 19.

The second part of a study, begun in *La Revue Thomiste* in 1952, raising some of the theological problems of definition arising out of the Muslim mystical practice of *dhikr*. The author is concerned for a comparative study of *dhikr* and similar forms of mystical discipline in other faiths, both as to their psycho-physical nature and their metaphysical bearing.

Qadiyyat al-Iskandarūnat. By Dr. Majīd Khaddūrī, Damascus, 1953, pp. 120.

This Arabic study by the Professor of Political Science in the School of International Affairs in Washington of the Johns Hopkins University treats of the incorporation of the Sandjak of Alexandretta into Turkey in 1939 and the events preceding it. A summary of the present work appeared in English in the American *Journal of International Law* of July 1945. It is a competent survey of the legal and political aspects of the case drawn from Arabic, Turkish and European sources. The long delay in the Arabic publication at least makes it coincide with recent publicity about military and naval developments in the territory.

Geschichte und Kultur der Semitischen Volker. By Sabatino Moscati, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1953, pp. 213, Plates and Index.

The author, one of the younger scholars in the fine Italian tradition of Orientalism and a Professor in the University of Rome, offers a synoptic view of Semitic history and culture. Some twenty pages are devoted to the Arabs and Islam, covering South, Central and North Arabia before Islam, the sources of the Qur'ān and the role of the Prophet. This work serves its introductory purpose well.

Studies in Caucasian History. By V. Minorsky, London, Taylor's Foreign Press, 1953. pp. 177, Map and Index.

This 6th Volume in the Cambridge Oriental Series contains three studies. The first is a translation from Jāmi' al-Duwal, relating to the Shaddādids, a little-known Muslim dynasty ruling in Eastern Transcaucasia in the 10th and 11th Christian centuries. The Arabic text is reproduced and the translation is followed by a discussion of these rulers with explanatory notes. The second study investigates later Shaddādid history from scattered Muslim and Armenian sources. The third, called *The Pre-History of Saladin,* seeks light on the

background of the emigré Kurd who rose to the position of the mightiest king of Islam. The antecedents of Saladin are sought in what the author calls "the Iranian intermezzo" with numerous ruling families competing for lordship. There are two brief appendices on the Ayyūbids.

Seven Fallen Pillars. By Jon Kimche, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1953, pp. 439, $4.50.

An American edition, with some enlargement, of the English issue of 1950, in which the journalist-author ("roving correspondent" is the cover description) tries to put day to day events into the fuller perspective of the "seven-pillared worthy house" for the Near East. It cannot be said that he has succeeded, for the criteria of such desiderata call for more than the racy, and sometimes crude, survey of politics, which we are here offered. Though it has the high ambition of its terms of reference, it resolves itself into a discussion of the policy of the British Labour Government of 1945-50 towards the Arabs and Zionists. The reason offered for the American edition is that "the Middle East is becoming an American . . . headache."

Is it fair comment to suggest that books that begin with headaches are not likely to inspire, being too much part of "the Aspirin age?" Nevertheless the student of affairs will find some details of interest and profit in this presentation of recent politics in the area.

The Truth about Morocco. By Pierre Parent. Moroccan Office of Information, New York, 1953, pp. 78.

The English translation of a series of articles written by the author and published in *Al Istiqlāl*. The series is an eloquent and costly plea by a former member of the French Parliament for truth and justice in Moroccan affairs and for the authentic spirit of France to manifest itself again. "To serve our country" he writes, "is to help Morocco to become a modern, prosperous state. And for this to happen quickly it must be free. In pursuit of this ideal, France's interest and obligations are one."

Isfahan, the Story of a Jewish Community in Persia. By Walter J. Fischel. Reprinted from the Joshua Starr Memorial Volume, New York, 1953.

A brief survey of the fortunes of the Jewish community in Isfahan from the first deportation under Nebuchadnezzar until this century. The Yahudīya-Isfahān has often attracted the attention of travellers and writers. The author offers a terse summary of the story.

Colloquium on Islamic Culture

Doughty's monumental *Arabia Deserta* begins with the hope in the Preface that his record will be "such, I trust, that if the words (written all day from their mouths) were rehearsed to them in Arabic, there might every one whose life is remembered therein hear, as it were, his proper voice and many a rude bystander, smiting his thigh, should bear witness and cry: 'Ay Wallah', the sooth indeed!"

It is a far cry from the Islam of Arabia in Doughty's day to the cultured and scholarly assembly which gathered in the Woodrow Wilson Hall in Princeton in September 1953. Furthermore readers of this Quarterly, we suspect, do not smite their thighs and use expletives, even when they hear "the sooth indeed." Nor is it our intention to reproduce words "written all day from their mouths:" that, with due respect, would be too tedious. Yet Doughty's introductory words are aptly quoted, for this interesting occasion, bringing together so many representatives of contemporary Islam and expressing a warm will to constructive relationship on the part of the gracious hosts, did provide a sounding board for the articulation of Muslim thought and opinion, so representative in its nature and frank in its quality that, thinking of Islam in this age, one could say with perfect honesty: "The sooth indeed." Here mirrored in courteous debate were the issues of Islam today.

But first, like Doughty, we had better get into our Arabia: not, now, harsh and forbidding and only essayed by dint of patient risks and anxious fidelity: but hospitable and kindly, a contact with living Islam in the charming setting of The Inn at Princeton—where the main academic business of the Colloquium was transacted—and under the attentive care of Director, President Emeritus, Bayard Dodge, the Department of Oriental Languages of Princeton University and the Library of Congress. Some thirty Muslim leaders of thought and letters had come by invitation to meet a similar number of Westerners interested in, or professionally responsible for, Islamic studies. Their names were as follows:

Amīr 'Alī, Dean of the College of Agriculture, Osmania University, Hyderabad, India.
Jawād 'Alī, Secretary and Member of the Iraqi Academy, Baghdad.
Orhan H. Alisbah, Head of the Department of Mathematics, Ankara University.
Muṣṭafā 'Amer, Director General of Antiquities, Cairo.
Muḥammad al-Bahay, Professor of Islamic Philosophy, Al-Azhar, Cairo
Shaikh 'Abdallāh Ghōsheh, President, Muslim Board of Elders, Jerusalem, Jordan.
Maḥmūd Ḥoballah, Director, The Islamic Center, Washington, Professor of Ethics and Psychology, Al-Azhar.
Halil Inalcik, Professor, Department of History, University of Ankara.

Chafīk Jabrī, Dean of the Faculty of Letters, Syrian University, Damascus.
Muḥammad Kafrāwī, Secretary General, Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, Jakarta, Indonesia.
Majīd Khaddūrī, Professor of Middle East Studies, Johns Hopkins University, at Washington.
Muḥammad Khalafallāh, Dean of the Faculty of Letters and Professor of Arabic, University of Alexandria, Egypt.
Ṣubḥi Maḥmaṣṣānī, Barrister-at-Law, Lecturer, Beirut.
Muḥammad Hāshim Maiwandwal, Counsellor, Royal Afghanistan Embassy, Washington.
Mojtabi Minovi, Professor of Literature, University of Teheran, Iran.
Muḥammad Nizāmuddīn, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Professor of Persian, Osmania University, Hyderabad, India.
Muḥyiddīn Nuṣūlī, Editor of *Beirut,* Beirut.
Ishtiaq Ḥussain Qureshi, Minister of Education, Pakistan, and Pro-Chancellor, the University of Karachi.
Fazlur Raḥmān, Lecturer in Persian Studies, University of Durham, England.
Luṭfī M. Sa'dī, Detroit, Michigan.
Ḥadji Agus Salīm, Adviser to the Foreign Ministry, Jakarta, Indonesia.
S. R. Shafaq, Visiting Lecturer, Columbia University, formerly Member of the Majlis, Teheran, Iran.
Khalifa Shujauddīn, Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Pakistan.
Mazheruddīn Siddiqī, Editor of *The Islamic Literature,* Lahore.
Hifzi Timur, Professor of International Law, University of Istanbul, Turkey.
Sabri F. Ulgener, Professor of Economics, University of Istanbul.
Zainul Abidin Bin Aḥmad, Head of the Department of Malay Studies, University of Singapore.
Muṣṭafā Zarkā, Professor of Islamic Law, Faculty of Arts, the Syrian University, Damascus.
Muḥammad Al-Zayyāt, Cultural Attaché, the Egyptian Embassy, Washington.

It will be noted that Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, and North Africa were major Islamic areas not represented. The main themes of the Colloquium were: Classical Elements in Islamic Culture, Islamic Law and Society and Intellectual and Spiritual Movements in Islam Today. The aim was to study Islamic culture as a whole in its relation to the contemporary world. The sequence of topics was as follows:

(1) Modern Trends of Literature in the Islamic Countries.
(2) Ways of Preserving an Appreciation of the Classic Literature of Islam.
(3) History, Historical Research and History Teaching in Muslim Countries.
(4) Education in Muslim Countries, including Religious Education.
(5) Social Reform in the Communities of the Muslim World.

(6) Law and the Modernization of Legal Systems: the Sharī'ah.
(7) The Sharī'ah and the Problems of Modern Life.
(8) Problems raised by Science in the Communities of Islam.
(9) Trends of Muslim Philosophy and Modern Ideas.

The above comprised the program at Princeton. Two final days at Washington gave opportunity for visits to the Islamic Center, the Library of Congress and the Freer Gallery of Art. Summarized reports of the discussions were also presented there and a final meeting was addressed by Dr. Luther Evans, Dr. Muṣṭafa 'Amer and Professor F. S. C. Northrop. The seven days of colloquy in Princeton were presided over by members of the Department of Oriental Languages of that University, whose Library arranged a special display of Islamic mss. and art in honor of the delegates. Each topic was introduced by two or three leaders, who offered prepared papers. With the exception of Drs. N. A. Faris and M. Khaddūrī, each speaker was himself a Muslim. Open discussion followed in which views both East and West were freely expressed. Arabic summaries were given of papers and remarks in English and English digests were distributed of those papers read in Arabic. All participants were also invited to submit papers for publication on any related subject. These papers are to be published in full in Arabic in Cairo, by Franklin Publications Inc., on behalf of the Colloquium, under the Editorship of Dr. M. Khalafallāh, of Alexandria. The English of these papers and certain of the addresses given will be published through the next eight or ten quarterly numbers of *The Middle East Journal* and *The Muslim World*. An official summary of the proceedings will be issued by the Colloquium officers, while digests have appeared in the *Information Bulletin* of the Library of Congress, Vol. 12.

"The sooth indeed!" cried Doughty's imaginary onlookers, as they overheard their words. There is of course much more to tell about this Colloquium, the inspiration behind it, the careful concern for the comfort of the members, the liberal opportunities for private exchange of friendship and opinion, the shuttle-bus which ran 'twixt Inn and Hall, the larger Saturday session when additional attendance served to remind the rest of their special privilege, the receptions given by the President of Princeton and the Library of Congress. All these deserve a longer story. There were also many intriguing observations, as when the Egyptian Ambassador's wife, Madame Aḥmed Ḥussain, speaking on Feminism in Egypt declared that having resisted the British to liberate their men, the women had fought with their men to liberate themselves: or the shaikh who reported on reliable authority that the population problem in Egypt was a further instance of imperialist wickedness: or the discussion as to whether Arabic language reform would be consistent with Quranic loyalties. But in the brief compass of these notes, it is necessary to pass to the underlying senses in which Doughty's vigorous phrase has been taken as a 'text.' In what ways was this Colloquium so exact and true a mirror of Islam?

There may be those who felt themselves, or felt their colleagues, inhibited at times in their remarks from possible fear as to how they might be understood in the press or at home. This may have in part been the case. But by and large, thanks to the sense of fellowship,

symbolised by the unobtrusive motto above a blackboard: Idhā kāna aṣlī min turābin fa kullahā bilādī wa kullu-l-nāsi fīhā aqāribī. ("If I come from Mother Earth then it is all my country and all its people are my brethren."), members seemed to be engaging in discussion with complete frankness. Thus their deliberations were a faithful reflection of the confidence and aspiration of contemporary Islam. Here for the first time a conclave of Muslim scholars met as guests on American soil and joined with their Western counterparts in full discussion of basic problems belonging to their faith. Evidently, thus far, the age of aloofness, of abstraction, of diffidence or studied 'difference,' is past. Islam is living in the full tide of the contemporary world with all its problems of mind and will, of home and school, of state and society. Nor is there anything strange in that situation. It has long been evident to all who cared to see. But in a manner at least unique in itself the fact was symbolised in the very conception of the Colloquium and the fact that it worked. Not only was the opportunity accepted, it was seized. That our generations are contemporary and our world common was what we were saying. "The sooth indeed."

But the tensions as well as the confidence of Islam today were equally heard aloud. Differences of view between the Muslim and the American participants would not be unexpected. But there was equal diversity among the former, and that, not simply, by country of origin,—Turkish, Arab and Pakistani, for example,—but between individuals from the same land. Almost every discussion led into diversity of interpretation and there was no general agreement as to what constituted the indisputably *Islamic* answer to a variety of problems. Not least was this apparent in the account given on the one hand by a scholar from Al-Azhar and on the other by a spokesman of the Muslim Brotherhood, as to the duty of shaikhs in respect of social welfare policies initiated by the Government. The former suggested that the mosque and its officers had no direct duty to participate in such activities: their function was, rather, to put upon them the *imprimatur* of 'Islamicity' so that the fellaḥīn would be re-assured as to their being genuinely Islamic and not some foreign notion. The latter urged that religious leaders should be in the forefront of such work, in a positive and initiating capacity, since Islam is itself concern for the needy. Both appealed to *Zakāt* as the ground of their statements and both believed that their views were incontestably correct. Yet they were far from identical.

Similarly, the Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly was heard soliciting guidance from his fellow Muslims as to the precise ways in which the Sharī'ah should be applied so as to satisfy the meaning of Islamic Statehood. Questions relating to the response of religious apologetic to the demands of modern science also revealed deep difference of view. Some held that the two realms were simply disparate and that all that was needed was a categorical denial that science and Islam could ever be in conflict. Others recognized that something much more patient and searching was needed if justice was to be done either to the rational side of religion or to the needs of the rising generation, bewildered by the dichotomy between the standards of a technicological age and the pre-suppositions of dogma. There was also keen debate on the attitude that would be taken by historic religion to its own past: as

to the relation between scholarship and dogma, between language and theology, between Arabic and the Qur'ān: as to the limits of freedom both personal and academic: as to the very nature of Islam. One delegate is on record as privately saying that there is more 'Islam' in America and Britain than there is in Pakistan. He could only have meant that Islam was essentially some form of democracy or liberalism such as he might conceive to be more firmly established in the West than in his native land. But to give to the term 'Islam' a connotation that ignores all the points of belief and practice that historically belong to it—in which Pakistan obviously outdoes any Western country—is to make havoc of the meaning of terms, and to confound confusion the more. This is admittedly an extreme, and perhaps a provocative, instance of the truth that Islam itself is caught in a deep process of self-definition. Some Western observers do not sufficiently wrestle with what abides within what changes—witness the closing address in Washington, in which the unexamined assumption seemed to be that Iqbāl and Islam are identical. As with the confidence so with the difference. It was well known before the Colloquium convened, but it was certainly amply illustrated when it closed. This fluidity—challenge and response if it can be so described—calls for sympathy, honesty and patience, for it is a time of decision.

Yet another essential truth about Islam was demonstrated in the Colloquium. It was that of the inclusive quality of Islam. The aim of the Colloquium was to discuss Islamic culture but a too rigid and Western concept of that term could not be enforced. The discussion was continually turned by its own logic into areas which the term might have been held, or intended, to exclude. Was it a session on modernising Arabic script with a view to facilitating printing and reducing its costs? An innocent enough theme by some standards, but it led by a direct route into the theology of revelation. There was no considering a problem of Arabic as a problem of printing alone. Was it a question of educational attitudes to history? History, at least in certain of its themes, was not for historians alone. Was it a discussion of law and politics? Then it must not be merely left to reason, custom or utility. Did the old view of the *Ayyām al-Jāhiliyyah* need correction? Then more than fact was involved. Thus everywhere the inclusive character of Islam was evident; it is only with some strain that Islamic Culture can be isolated as a subject for discussion unless the term is made to cover areas of religion which in some quarters it would not include. Perhaps, therefore, it is a pity that theological thought and experience were not specified for discussion—though the difficulties of chairmanship, language, and feeling might have been too great. At least it may be hoped that the very success of the Colloquium in all these realms has paved the way and nourished the faith that may later lead to meetings on the ultimates of conviction which we all know underlie our cultures. Religious communication is the most difficult of our problems but surely the most fundamental.

"The sooth indeed." Here in epitome were the confidence, the tensions, the inclusiveness of Islam. That it so faithfully reproduced them is the best evidence of the Colloquium's attainment of its aim. A continuing Committee, it is understood, is to work on the questions raised and to try to conserve the impetus given. But much

must lie with the pursuit and enrichment of the personal friendships made or renewed, if a gesture of warm recognition of Islam in its contemporary needs and hopes, and an equally warm effort of response on the part of Muslim representatives (total passenger miles travelled not known), are to be made to bear creatively on the vast issues of our time. As an experiment the Colloquium was undoubtedly a success; and as an experience it was a privilege and pleasure. But whether as successful experiment or pleasant experience it points beyond itself to the large tasks out of which it came.

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The Pilgrimage, 1372 A.H. According to statistics at the end of September last some 110,000 pilgrims had visited Mecca and departed. Of these a little over 73,000 travelled by sea and almost 16,000 by air, the rest using land routes. The Arabian Ministry of the Interior complained of the smuggling of pilgrims into the country across the Red Sea from Africa and laid down severe penalties against profiteers in this traffic, which was said to be costing the lives of numbers of pilgrims. Appeal was also made to the merchants of the Hijāz to cease trading with non-Saudi merchants who came during the pilgrimage for commercial benefit. An Egyptian Medical Mission is working on a Hostel for Egyptians in Mecca. Congestion in the sacred city is reflected by an order of the Municipality of Mecca warning owners of car repair shops not to leave cars or car parts in public streets. Those so left are taken away and destroyed. Another order regulated the use of space around shops and the limits within which porters and guides may operate.

Among the pilgrims last year was President Naguib of Egypt. Meanwhile the Governor General of Pakistan, plans a visit to Saudi Arabia and a tour of the Holy Cities. Within Pakistan, however, there continued to be dissatisfaction with the Government regulations, which allegedly curbed the number of would-be pilgrims. Among the measures said to have had this effect were the ban on the making of the pilgrimage more than once, the prohibition on the taking of children from three to ten years of age, the ban on pre-Ramaḍān sailings and the closing of the land route. One estimate mentions 18,000 as the number of Pakistanis ready for the pilgrimage they were unable to make because of these restrictions.

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Morality and Law in Arabia. Committees of Public Morality which have been operating in Mecca, Medina, Ṭā'if and Jiddah, are to be set up in every town by recent decree of the Crown Prince, to work in conjunction with the President of the Sharī'ah Court. They are invested with power to oblige the public to perform their Sharī'ah duties in accordance with the example of the Prophet. They have also power of imprisonment pending trial, and to impose punishment under certain circumstances, not exceeding eight lashes. Forsaking of group prayers and the use of profane language are among the crimes so punishable. Members of the Committees are themselves under strict supervision by their superiors who have capacity to act if their suspicions are aroused even though precise evidence is not available, since "morality is a religious and spiritual quality that is indeterminate." Soldiers are attached to each branch Committee

for Public Morality. The Chairman of the main Committee speaks of the vice of intemperance as one of the foremost and bans the showing of indecent films.

Labor and Law in Arabia. It is becoming platitudinous to talk of modernity in Arabia. Yet a new expression of it was the recent labor strike in the oilfields where some 13,000 employees out of a total of 15,000 went on strike in protest at the arrest of a group trying to organise a union in violation of the law. Martial law was apparently in force for a time after rioting had broken out. Wage demands as well as the union questions were involved. Reports from the area spoke of these October events as the first general labor disturbance experienced by ARAMCO in twenty years of operation.

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Wise Marriage: Divorce "the most hated legitimate deed before God." The following is written by a Jiddah journalist and appeared in a Meccan newspaper. "All splits in married life are the result of universal ignorance among young men of a wise philosophy of marriage. Unfortunately, experience has proven that the main causes behind divorce cases are usually trivial, such as quarrels between the mother-in-law and the wife, or differences of opinion between a man and his wife. These trivial and insignificant reasons are actually not so serious as to create grave misunderstandings or to drive man to the "most hated legitimate deed before God", i.e. divorce. Unfortunately, it is inherent in the nature of young people to act in a hurried and unthinking way with total disregard for the consequences."

"He who follows divorce cases will find that usually they start with a casual remark which invites a sarcastic comment, injuring the opposite side and prompting him to retaliate. In so doing, he returns the sarcasm in a harsher manner, and behold! A whole series of comments ensues from both sides, each acquiring more bitterness, sarcasm, violence and fury. This offers Satan, who sent Adam from heaven, a chance to add oil to the fire by reminding both parties of previous wrongs. Nerves become tense until the height of rage is reached. At this point a violent explosion occurs which puts an end to the crisis in one of two ways; either "fist-to-fist language" replaces the language of the tongue, or the decisive word "divorce" is pronounced. As a consequence, children must be dispersed and deprived of the love of their parents under one roof, untold complications develop, to say nothing about the bitter regret on both sides."

"The preceding example is a true and vivid picture of what happens in our society every day. Provocation of course, always plays a leading role but had it not been for the sarcastic attitude of the one side, and the intolerance of the other, the whole situation could have been settled peacefully.

"We recognize that human beings under certain circumstances are subjected to various stresses and strains which make calm consideration and discussion difficult, but it is neither fair nor wise for them to give vent to their feelings with bitterness or ridicule. To commit such foolishness is a sure way to ruin married life, or

at the very least, to create hatred. Blame is not to be put on the woman, since she, with her limited mentality, should not be able to seriously provoke a man. Generally speaking, the man is in the wrong because he has lowered his mental standard to that of feminine logic which is limited and handicapped. Problems of the woman do not go beyond the limits of the home, so what if we do give her absolute freedom of action in her small kingdom?"

"If we (the husbands) become involved in a quarrel or a dilemma, we must restrain ourselves and discuss the matter with our wives calmly, doing our very best to convince them in a peaceful manner, and taking into consideration the fact that their horizons are limited and their nerves very sensitive. We must not heed the words of sarcasm uttered by them under the duress of rage. In this simple manner, the wife can be restrained because no chance will have been offered to her to widen the gap of misunderstanding. She will find herself obliged to resort to silence, and she will later confess her mistakes, appreciating her husband's tolerance and his broad-mindedness. Furthermore, man is endowed with many fine attributes which can create of a woman a kind, obedient, and loyal creature; a woman alert to guard her married life. It is an old proverb that says: Do not ye be lenient lest ye be squeezed, nor hard lest ye be broken."

Arabic Script. Some six years ago the Academy of the Arabic Language of Fu'ād al-Awwal University in Cairo, organised a competition for a plan to simplify Arabic calligraphy, especially with a view to more economical printing methods. A prize of L.E.1,000 was offered for the best suggestions. By January, 1953, when the contest closed some five hundred people had sent replies, from Western as well as Arab countries. In that month the Academy decided that no suggestion received "could be reliably considered the best." It has now closed the whole project. *Al-Bilād al-Sa'ūdiyyah* of Mecca, commenting on this conclusion, remarks: "The Academy's decision was fair and adequate..based on the opinions of many notable scholars and men of genius. Any mature man should feel happy and content over the findings of these men." Similar sentiments were strongly voiced in the Princeton meetings of the recent Islamic Colloquium, when the subject entered, as it inevitably must, into a discussion of books, reading and education.

Translations into Arabic. Twenty-five of the contributions in Edward R. Murrow's *This I Believe* have been translated in a new Arabic edition which also contains statements of personal faith by a similar number of Arab leaders, headed by President Naguib himself. This book is the first venture of a new American non-profit organisation for the translation and publication of books in Cairo, named Franklin Publications, Inc. Over sixty titles are in preparation, under the direction of Ḥasan Jalāl al 'Arūsī in Cairo. Mr. Datus C. Smith is President. The Arabic edition of *This I Believe* sold out on the first day of publication and is being reprinted. Its Editor is Dr. Aḥmad Amīn, historian and essayist, and for many years head of the cultural section of the Arab League. George Sabine's *History of Political Theory* is to appear in Arabic translation, as well as certain books on science, economics, agriculture, health and fiction.

Children's books will receive prominent attention. Local consultation is in the forefront of the publishing program and where books cannot well be directly translated because of their allusions or style, they will be adapted by local scholars. A number of books are also being published in Turkish and it is hoped later to extend the program into other areas. The aim is to satisfy needs which could not be met by Government activity or existing commercial concerns. Close co-operation is to be maintained with Arabic publishing houses. The range of Arab reading seems likely to be steadily widened in many fields.

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Turkey. The Turkish Government is still suspicious of the plea of Communist menace used by elements anxious to bring back religious conservatism of the kind rejected by the Ataturk revolution. A number of Communists, some 160, were put on trial last autumn in Ankara for allegedly fomenting religious opposition to the Government as a means to Soviet intrigue. Some editors of religious journals were also arrested, being implicated, it is said, in fostering disaffection on religious grounds among the peasantry and as being in league with The Muslim Brotherhood in neighbouring Arab states. On many occasions spokesmen for the régime have denounced the idea that an adequate resistance to Communism required a return to former conservatism in religion. The Communist party is proscribed in Turkey and antagonism to its doctrines is believed to be strong, and in no need of being bolstered by 'reactionary' forms of orthodoxy.

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Education in Tunisia. The educational development of Tunisian youth is noteworthy. In these days of social unrest, when it is reasonable to believe that future stability depends on the children and youth now in schools, a true appraisal of the situation calls for a knowledge of facts. The first quarter 1953 number of IBLA (published in Tunis, 12 Rue Jāmaâ El Haoua) contains a valuable article of 46 pages entitled *"La Jeunesse Tunisiénne et les Études"*, by A. Louis. This article affords an abundance of statistics and items of information regarding the educational development in Tunisia with special reference to the Muslim population. Comprised in the survey are the primary and secondary schools, the technical schools, the facilities for higher studies, the traditional Quranic schools, the renowned Jāmi' al-Zaitunah, and finally, the various cultural institutes, followed by a bibliography. One is impressed by the rapid increase in the number of Muslim pupils and students, from 113,301 in 1950 to 154,662 in 1952, nearly 35,000 of whom are girls. The majority are in the schools under the direct administration of the Direction of Public Education with instruction in French or French-Arabic. The traditional Quranic schools claim over 32,000 pupils enrolled, and the Jāmi' al-Zaitunah some 14,000 students in Tunis and the various annexes throughout Tunisia, following courses covering a period of 10 years.

Pakistani Debate on the Islamic State. During the last quarter there has been prolonged debate in the Constituent Assembly which is the body established expressly for the determination of

the Constitution. Its main pre-occupation is the interpretation of the Objectives Resolution "that Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Qur'ān and the Sunnah." There has been long postponement of the issue because of the depth and delicacy of the problems involved. But it has been realised that the Constitution must sometime be defined, even if it is recognised that the issues will persist and that the attitudes dividing the mind of Pakistani Islam will inevitably remain whatever definitive steps are taken. Thus *Al-Islām*, the fortnightly Karachi paper, writes: "The process of Constitution-making can never be final. Our Constitution-makers should, therefore, not be afraid of framing a Constitution. Just as amendments are being made in the constitutions of all countries of the world today the Constitution of Pakistan can be amended whenever the nation feels a necessity of doing so." It must, however, be plain that if there is any meaning to constitution writing it is necessarily more final than opinion, that amendments are more difficult than original definition and that some questions cannot remain permanently open ones. Nevertheless there would appear to be some hope on the part of those who see the advantages of a "secular" interpretation of the State that, if they go along with the conservative elements in accepting a strict form, as a necessary policy now, they may be able to temper its enforcement in practice.

There is no doubt that if the Constitution is completed by the summer of 1954 and elections are then held under it, these will disclose in yet another form the diversity of opinion as to the policies appropriate to an Islamic State. The Awami Party is developing its opposition to the Muslim League despite various checks under which, it claims, it has suffered. Whatever eventuates both from the Constitutional debate and its electoral sequel these differences can be regarded as a measure of the virility of Pakistan. One important suggestion still to be determined is that which would transfer the functions of a proposed board of 'Ulamā' to the Supreme Court, on the ground that the latter would be the more appropriate body to pass upon the Islamicity of any controversial legislation. Meanwhile the ultimate confidence, not at issue, is the belief stated by one participant in the Constituent Assembly debate as follows: "We should realise that Islam is in a position to deliver modern goods."

Light on the North West Frontier. In a vast mountain cavern off the shores of the Kabul River, flowing out of Afghanistan into the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan, a new electrical generating station is being constructed which will bring power and light to that province and to numerous villages of the Punjab. Swedish engineers have planned the development at which over one thousand Pathans are at work. It is hoped that by 1957 new industries using electric power will be established in Peshawar. A large irrigation scheme depending on a new reservoir twenty-four miles in length will fertilise many thousands of acres and make the Kabul River navigable as an alternative route to the Khyber Pass. The approaching passage of the oil lamp from a land so remote is an event to strike the feeblest imagination.

Meanwhile in Iran also a fine new irrigation project has been completed for the city of Isfahan by British engineers with Point Four assistance. It includes a 9,000 foot tunnel under the Bakhtiari range of mountains to water from a high reservoir the dry valley in which Isfahan stands. Persian engineers in the 16th century planned such a scheme but the distance to be tunnelled below the dam they constructed was too great for their capacities. In Jordan and Israel, unhappily, irrigation problems are bedevilled by political tensions much harder of being overcome than the problems of the engineer.

Indonesian Religious Policy. We are much indebted to Dr. Muḥammad Kafrāwī, Secretary General of the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs for this statement as to religious policy in his country. It was presented to the recent Colloquium on Islamic Culture which he attended.

The importance of the religious factor in the life of a nation and to the whole world, especially in these trying times, need not be emphasized. It was General George Washington who stated in his farewell address: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

This is particularly true in Islamic countries or countries that are predominantly Muslim, for Islam governs the affairs of a Muslim from the day of his birth to the day of his death. Islam not only organizes the relationship between man and his God (*'ibādah*), but also regulates the relationship between man and man (*mu'āmalah*). Thus it covers all human activity—personal, social, commercial and political. In personal affairs Islam regulates marriages, divorces and the distribution of inheritances. In social affairs it gives a set of obligations to be followed by the rich and the poor, as for example the *Zakāt-fithrah* i.e. yearly gift by the rich to the poor, and *Zakāt*, another, even greater, obligation, for the welfare of the society.

In commerce Islam strictly prohibits usury, giving equal rights to labor and capital. In political matters Islam prescribes government by counsel, democracy, and justice. Altogether Islam is a single, undivided concept, in which the spiritual and the temporal are not two distinct domains. Unlike other religions Islam recognizes no priesthood. Thus the Qur'ān prescribes a set of general principles to be practiced by Muslims throughout their lives. The essence of these

principles is: belief in one God, humanity, democracy, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, equality, tolerance and social justice. The state from the Islamic point of view is an embodiment of endeavors to transform this set of principles into space-time forces and into definite human organization. For this reason, religion is emphasized in Indonesia's social and political life.

When Indonesia declared her independence in 1945, the *"Pantja Sila"* or the "Five Principles" were adopted as her state philosophy. These principles are: 1. Divine Omnipotence, 2. Humanity, 3. Nationalism, 4. Democracy, 5. Social Justice.

The *"Pantja Sila"* can best be described as an "agreement" reached among the many religious and socio-political ideas in Indonesia and it has truly appreciated the importance of the religious factor in her national reconstruction. President Sukarno, in the course of his speech presenting the *"Pantja Sila,"* stated: "We must together seek for unity in our state philosophical foundation, for one "Weltanschauung" in which we all believe . . . this is not a compromise but a mutually arrived at and agreed upon principle. Do we intend to set up a free Indonesia for one individual or for one particular group? Do we intend to set up a free Indonesia which is only nominally free but actually only something to crown some individual or to bring power to a wealthy group or to a group of aristocrats? Is this our objective? Certainly not. Our compatriots—the nationalists—who are present here, as well as our compatriots—the Muslims—have all agreed that no such state is our goal. We intend to establish a state that is "all for all."

Concerning the principle of the Divine Omnipotence, the President said: "The people of Indonesia not only should have belief in God but everyone should believe in his own particular God. The Christians should worship God according to the teachings of Jesus Christ, Muslims according to the teachings of Prophet Muḥammad, Buddhists according to their own books. . . . The entire population should worship God, in the cultural way, that is without "religious egoism," and the state of Indonesia should be a state incorporated in the belief of God." This principle then is embodied in article 18 of Indonesia's Constitution which stipulates that everyone is entitled to freedom of religion, conscience and thought. Article 43 emphatically declares that: 1. The state is founded on the belief in Divine Omnipotence. 2. Freedom of worship is guaranteed to every resident, and 3. The authorities give equal protection to all recognized religious denominations and organizations. Article 41 of the Constitution states that the authorities shall promote the spiritual and physical development of the people and shall provide public education the basic objectives of which are the deepening of national consciousness, religious tolerance and the opportunity for religious teaching in public schools in accordance with the wishes of the parents.

Thus the state has taken the responsibility for preserving the religious life of the citizen. So that this first principle of the state-philosophy is properly executed, a Ministry of Religious Affairs was established.

This Ministry, however, is not essentially new to Indonesia since both the Dutch and the Japanese colonial régimes had established a religious department. Because of their realistic appreciation of the

religious potential in Indonesian society, history has shown that they were not trying to promote the spiritual life of the Indonesians but rather to check the advancement of the Muslim religion, and, whenever possible, to exploit it for the benefit of their own régimes. In facing the Islamic people, Dutch colonial policy was mainly a policy of appeasement.

The Japanese military government in Indonesia during its short tenure followed a religious policy similar to that of the Dutch. It is clear to all familiar with the works of the noted Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, who formulated Dutch religious policy in Indonesia, that only for the sake of brevity this policy could be described as "Laissez-faire." But what *actually* happened? The Dutch government offered tremendous support to Protestantism and to Catholicism. For every $380.00 given to aid the Christian faith, only $1.00 was given to the Muslims. Yet Islam is the religion of over 80% of the Indonesian population. Even this small assistance was given to Islam only for form's sake. The colonial régime also attempted to retard the development of the majority religion—Islam. It did this by imposing various injurious regulations such as the so-called "Teacher Ordinance" (State Paper No. 217, 1925) which limited the freedom of Islamic religious teachers, the "Heritage Ordinance" (State Paper No. 110-116, 1937) which interfered with the Islamic jurisprudence. Support of Christianity and the discouragement of Islam did not spring from conviction, but was the result rather of the traditional colonial policy of divide and conquer. The people of Indonesia, no matter what their religion, were not deceived. Christians joined Muslims in the struggle for independence. They were able to maintain unity of purpose for their national aspirations.

What is the religious policy of the Indonesian government under its present system? First of all it should be remembered that it is the duty of any Indonesian government to promote all recognized religions in Indonesia as vital parts of the national culture. The government treats all religious communities, whether large or small, under the principle of justice for all. The government supports religious institutions and promotes religious tolerance. This does not mean that the government is trying to control religion. Indonesia does not subscribe to the Napoleonic concept that a nation's religion must be under the control of the government. Although the government is supporting religious institutions, it does not interfere in their internal matters. The primary duties assigned to the Ministry of Religious Affairs are:

a. To see that freedom of religion is completely realized.
b. To maintain a peaceful and harmonious relationship among the various religious communities on the theme: "To make them agree to disagree agreeably."
c. To attempt modernization, especially among the Islamic communities, through more advanced means of education, information, etc. in order to lessen the existing backwardness as compared with their Christian brethren who are receiving the benefit of strong support through materially well equipped missionaries and Churches.
d. To register and perform Muslim marriages and divorces according to Islamic law.

e. To administer Mosques, awqāf, religious endowments, Churches, etc.
f. To administer Islamic Religious Courts of Justice.

The Ministry has a special section for Roman Catholic, Protestant and other religious denominations. The fact that Christianity is an organized religion has made it much simpler for the Ministry to support it. Many Catholic as well as Protestant Churches have been rehabilitated in Indonesia side by side with Mosques through government subsidies.

There are hundreds of thousands of private Muslim religious institutions scattered throughout Indonesia, with a total number of nearly 4 million students. All of these institutions, which consist of elementary and higher religious schools, are privately owned and privately operated with a curriculum belonging to the medieval era. Most of these institutions either refused to include the modern sciences in their curricula or were unable to provide the needed instructors. The Ministry of Religious Affairs was asked to alleviate this situation. As a result of its popularity among religious communities the Ministry was able to persuade these institutions to include the modern sciences on their curricula. The Ministry is also trying to provide instructors—80,000 are needed for this project alone. These instructors have to be trained by the Ministry because of the general lack of teachers in Indonesia.

Again in the field of religious education, the Ministry has been able to effect modernization of Friday sermons through the medium of religious information and publications in hundreds of thousands of Mosques throughout the country with millions of monthly attendants. Friday sermons hold a very special position in the everyday life of the Muslim communities. Particularly in the countryside where a great majority of the people are illiterate, Friday sermons become the only means of public education and public information. Until recently most of the sermon texts used were outmoded and out of touch with contemporary affairs. At the present time through the concerted effort of the Ministry of Religious Affairs these sermons have been brought up to date and cover various problems of modern living such as hygienic problems, etc.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs also registers and performs marriages and arranges divorces for the Muslim population of Indonesia. Thus it conducts marriage and divorce affairs for 70,000,000 people. In this connection we may recall that in 1937 the Dutch government tried to impose the system of civil registration of marriages in Indonesia, but very strong opposition from the Muslim population forced the Dutch administration to cancel the measure.

From the previous discussion, however, one may get the impression that the Ministry has, to a certain extent, interfered in the activity of various other ministries such as the Ministry of Education in the case of religious education, the Ministry of Justice in the case of Marriages and Divorces, and the Ministry of Finance in the case of religious endowments and Waqf. Here one likes to point out first that the establishment of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Indonesia was a compromise between the secular and Christian theory of the separation of State from Church and the Islamic theory of the alliance between the two. Secondly, the Minis-

try of Religious Affairs does not in any form interfere in the activities of other Ministries since the jurisdiction of each Ministry has been distinctly defined by law. Thus the Ministry of Religious Affairs is an Indonesian home-made formula for compromising the two conflicting ideas: the Islamic and the secular state system.

The principle of equal justice to all recognized religions has been applied in Indonesia. The government has aided the establishment of many Mosques and Churches. Missionary activities, foreign or Indonesian, are continuing with government encouragement and under government protection. However, the government is of the opinion that Indonesia no longer needs new foreign missionaries. It believes that a free Indonesian nation is well able to handle its own missionary needs and, therefore, does not permit missionaries who have had no previous contact with Indonesia to open their agencies in the country.

In closing this discussion the statement recently given in Brussels by Msgr. de Jonghe d'Ardoye, the Papal Internuntius in Indonesia to the effect that there is full freedom of religion in Indonesia seems appropriate. The Church not only enjoys full freedom, but it can always count on the sympathy of the Indonesian government.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

Developments of the Quarter: Comment and Chronology. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Spring, 1953. pp. 196-205.

Covers the period from December 1, 1952 to February 28, 1953.

Les Grottes de Murabba'at et Leurs Documents. R.P.R. de-Vaux. *Revue Biblique,* Paris. Avril, 1953. pp. 245-267.

Tells of finds, other than the precious manuscripts, of fabrics, leather work and carvings well preserved by the extreme dryness of the caves.

The Influence of Islam upon Western Music. Harold J. Greenberg. *The Islamic Review,* Woking. March, 1953. pp. 24-29.

Describes how European music, especially in Russia, from Brahms to Cyril Scott, shows the influence and inspiration of the Orient.

Khwaja Nazimuddin. Fareed S. Jafri. *Asian Review,* London. January, 1953. pp. 33-37.

An account of the life and qualifications of Pakistan's former Prime Minister, who presents a combination of Islamic culture and British education.

Qanats around Kirman. Philip Beckett. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. January, 1953. pp. 47-58.

A detailed scientific article with a glossary of special terms used by workers.

Sadiq Hedayat. H.D.G. Law. *Asian Review,* London. January, 1953. pp. 45-49.

Surveys the literary achievement of this notable Persian writer, who died in 1951.

Al-Fārābī's Aphorisms of the Statesman. D.M. Dunlop. *Iraq,* London. Autumn, 1952. pp. 93-117.

A translation of a manuscript in the Bodleian.

A Modern Urdu Tafsīr. J.M.S. Baljon, Jr. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. Part 2, 1952. pp. 95-107.

An account of Maulānā Abu'l Kalām 'Azād, Minister of Education in the Indian Cabinet, whose "Tarjumān al-Qur'ān" is a moderate and broad-minded interpretation.

II. ARABIA

La Fortification de la Ville d'Adraha d'Arabie. H.-G. Pflaum. *Syrie,* Paris. Vol. 19, 1952. pp. 307-330.

Presents facts determined from recently discovered inscriptions.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

Cinq Siècles d'Istanbul Turque. P. Rondot. *Études,* Paris. Mai, 1953. pp. 195-209.

A short historical sketch.

The Moslems of Central Tibet. H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1952. pp. 233-240.

Gives information on the history, location, activities and community organization of these Sunnī Muslims.

The Muslims in Yugoslavia. Hazim Satric. *The Islamic Review,* Woking. April, 1953. pp. 13-18.

Against an historical background, the author laments the Communist persecutions which are decimating Islamic citizens, imprisoning religious leaders and closing the Muslim courts.

Les Musulmans dans le Monde. Pierre Rondot. *Études,* Paris. Avril, 1953. pp. 72-79.

Depicts the dramatic effect of a map, with comments, issued by Documentation Française (Carte No. 55) showing the spread of Islam throughout the world and the location of its various sects.

Les Partis Musulmans en Indonésie. *Le Monde Non Chrétien,* Paris. Avril-Juin, 1952. pp. 219-221.

Describes the make-up and aims of the "Masjūmi," two of its off-shoots, the "Nahḍatul 'Ulamā" and the "Muhammadīyah," and an important new group, the "Partai Serikat Islam Indonesia."

Medieval Harran. D. S. Rice. *Anatolian Studies,* London. Part 2, 1952. pp. 36-84.

A detailed study of topography and monuments—such as the newly uncovered South Eastern gateway of the citadel.

Il Testamento di Abū Hasim. Sabatino Moscati. *Revista degli Studii Orientali,* Rome. pp. 28-46.

Discusses the causes for the 'Abbasīd separation from the Shī'ites.

The Wafidia in the Mamluk Kingdom. D. Ayalon. *Islamic Culture, Hyderabad.* October, 1952. pp. 89-104.

Describes the coming of refugees from Mongolia.

IV. QUR'AN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

Adat Law in Indonesia. Dr. Djojdigoeno. *Asian Review,* London. January, 1953. pp. 38-45.

Explains the complicated legal situation where different systems apply to different groups and where Adat Law is applicable only to the natives of Indonesia proper.

Documents sur Certains Waqfs des Lieux Saints de l'Islam. L. Massignon. *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. 1951. pp. 73-120.

Furnishes source material.

Le Futuwwa ou "Pacte d'Honneur Artisanal" entre Travailleurs Musulmans au Moyen Age. L. Massignon. *La Nouvelle Klio,* Bruxelles. Octobre, 1952. pp. 171-198.

An early form of union for the workers.

The Greek Church of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire. G. G. Arnakis. Journal of Mediaeval History, Chicago. September, 1952. pp. 235-250.

Discusses the violation of religious liberty and the reasons for the Ottoman attitude toward the Church.

The Personal Law of the Druse Community. J. N. D. Anderson. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. Part 2, 1952. pp. 83-94.

Covers divorce, paternity, testate succession and waqf.

Le Sacrifice Arabe Nommé "Ḍahiya." J. Chelhod. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,* Paris. Octobre-Décembre, 1952. pp. 206-215.

The author believes the ceremony to be a sacrifice of expiation instituted by Muḥammad soon after the Hijra and modeled on the Hady.

Some Aspects of Mystical Prayer in Islam. Annemarie Schimmel. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden. Part 2, 1952. pp. 112-125.

An account of the utterances of various mystics, principally Sūfīs.

Les Wakfs dans l'Islam Contemporain. Busson de Janssens. Revue des Études Islamiques, Paris. 1951. pp. 1-72.

Describes administrative practices.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

Economic Reviews. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Spring, 1953. pp. 222-234.

Comprises "The beginnings of Point IV Work in Iran" by F. S. Harris and "A policy of conservation for the Caspian forests of Iran" by Henry S. Kernan.

The Educational Effort in Morocco. Roger Thabault. *Asian Review,* London. January, 1953. pp. 58-70.

The Director of Education presents a survey of progress since the French arrival and gives pertinent statistics.

I Saw the Forbidden City. Ahmad Kahmal. *The Saturday Evening Post,* Philadelphia. September 25, 1953. pp. 19-21; 56-67.

A Turkish-American Muslim recounts his strange adventures on his pilgrimage to Mecca.

Irrigation Developments in Central Persia. R. L. Pitt. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1953. pp. 124-133.

Describes plans to use the waters of the Kuhrang and the Zayandeh Rud.

Land Reform in Egypt and Its Repercussions. Doreen Warri-

ner. *International Affairs,* London. January, 1953. pp. 1-10.

One of the great appeals of General Naguib's Régime has been his party's concern for land reform and other Middle East powers are being stimulated to take steps in the same direction.

LANDS ATHWART THE NILE. Derwent Whittlesey. *World Politics,* Princeton, N.J. January, 1953. pp. 214-241.

A study of the varied population of the Upper Nile.

LEBANON—THE MOUNTAIN AND ITS TERRACES. Norman N. Lewis. *Geographic Review,* New York. January, 1953. pp. 1-14.

Explains how terracing has influenced the economic and agricultural life of the country.

LEBANON'S POPULAR REVOLUTION. George Britt. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1953. pp. 1-17.

Tells of the corruption of the Khūri régime which fell in 1952.

A NEW FORCE AT WORK IN DEMOCRATIC TURKEY. Howard A. Reed. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1953. pp. 33-44.

Points out the amazing changes in the villager as new roads and modern machines become parts of his everyday experience.

PAKISTAN TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW, H.E.M.A.H. Ispahni. *Asian Review,* London. April, 1953. pp. 129-136.

The High Commissioner outlines plans for economic improvement through agriculture and industries and for social betterment through education and medical care.

PALACE POLITICS IN THE DAMASCUS OASIS. Ray Alan. *Commentary,* New York. February, 1953. pp. 149-158.

Describes three and a half years of army rule in Syria and also present conditions under the Shishakly Régime.

THE PEOPLES OF THE SUDAN. D. C. Rife and J. R. Randall. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Spring, 1953. pp. 165-181.

Egyptians and Sudanese are not closely related ethnically and their ways of life are so diverse that Islam and the Arabic language—two points in common—would fail to unite them politically.

POPULATION PROBLEMS IN ISRAEL. H. E. Eliahu Elath. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. January, 1953. pp. 22-36.

Laments the uneasy situation due to immense and varied crowds of immigrants and to the large Arab minority and hopes for coöperation—the only salvation.

RECLAIMING AN ADEN WILDERNESS. *New Commonwealth,* London. November, 1952. pp. 36-38.

A report on the Abyan scheme.

REPORT FROM THE LOCUST WARS. Tony and Dickey Chapelle. *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D.C. April, 1953. pp. 545-562.

"Punitive" operations in the desert of Iraq at Al Busaiya.

SOCIAL WELFARE IN EGYPT. *Asian Review,* London. January, 1953. pp. 50-58.

Describes the work of the Ministry of Social Affairs, created in 1939, and dealing with the fellaḥīn through social services.

SOIL EROSION AND ITS CONSERVATION. Philip Claxton. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1952. pp. 269-279.

The author has studied the problem in Dera Ghazi Khan on the Indus and suggests practices useful there be applied to the arid sections of the Middle East.

Some Individual Endeavours to Help the Arab Refugees. G. E. Kirk. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1953. pp. 117-119.

Describes the helpful efforts of the C.M.S. Refugee Relief Centre at Zerqa and of various other small enterprises.

The Sudan Gezira Scheme. Arthur Gaitskell. *African Affairs,* London. October 1952. pp. 306-313.

Presents a collective plan of investment and management.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Africa: A Continent in Ferment. Alexander Campbell. *Life,* New York. May 4, 1953. pp. 9-11; 24-42.

These pages are devoted to Tangier, Morocco, the Sahara and Egypt.

Between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. Lieut.-Col. Gerald de Gaury. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1952. pp. 259-268.

Surveys the events of the last six years and dwells particularly on the problem caused by Israel and on the oil situation.

Communism in the Muslim World. Fareed Jafri. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1953. pp. 161-165.

Although Turkey and Indonesia are relatively unaffected, other countries, suffering from mal-administration and from the greed of the ruling classes, are open to penetration.

The Decline of the West in the Middle East. Albert Hourani. *International Affairs,* London. January, 1953. pp. 22-42; April, 1953. pp. 156-183.

An extremely discerning and thought-provoking article.

The Defense of the Middle East. B. H. Liddell Hart. *Harper's,* New York. April, 1953. pp. 63-70.

Presents in telling form the military and political importance of each country in the area.

The Disposal of Eritrea. Duncan C. Cumming. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1953. pp. 18-32.

Examines the U.N. solution for the country and shows how closely its well-being is allied to Ethiopia's.

The Disputed Waters of Jordan. M. G. Ionides. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Spring, 1953. pp. 153-164.

Calls for the appointment of an U.N. agency to collect pertinent facts and for unselfish coöperation by the Kingdom of Jordan and Israel on any projects decided upon.

For the Successful Struggle for Peace, National Independence and Democracy We Must Resolutely Turn toward the Workers and the Peasants. Khalid Bakdash. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Spring, 1953. pp. 206-221.

A report given before the Central Command of the Communist Party in Syria and Lebanon and unanimously approved.

The Future of the Suez Canal Zone. *The Round Table,* London. June, 1953. pp. 220-227.

A thorough discussion closing with this statement, "It is, indeed, hardly too much to say that to withdraw altogether from the Suez Canal Zone would mean the end of the Common-

wealth as an independent system in the world."

ISRAEL IN WORLD POLITICS. H. E. Eliahu Elath. *Asian Review,* London. April, 1953. pp. 136-143.

The Israeli ambassador in London is concerned over the inimical attitude of the Arab States toward Israel and hopes for a better understanding.

MOROCCAN PROFILES. Rom Landau. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Winter, 1953. pp. 45-57.

Short accounts of the Sultan, Allal al-Fasi, Hajj Ahmed Balafrej, 'Abd al-Khaliq Torres, and the anti-nationalists Sharif 'Abd al-Hayy Kattani and Tihami Al-Glawi.

THE NAZI PARTY IN PALESTINE AND THE LEVANT. H. D. Schmidt. *International Affairs,* London. October, 1952. pp. 460-469.

Covers the years 1932-1939 from interviews, from private correspondence and, in particular, from party files found in 1948 near Talpiot.

ORIENT CONTRE OCCIDENT EN AFRIQUE DU NORD. Robert Montagne. *Études,* Paris. Fèvrier, 1953. pp. 145-159.

The author believes that the only hope for both sides lies in a display of mutual understanding and confidence tempered with great wisdom in leadership.

PAKISTAN TO-DAY. The Hon. Khwaja Nazimuddin. *The Asian Review,* London. April, 1953. pp. 75-83.

An address by the Prime Minister discussing in the main the Kashmir dispute and the efforts of the U.N. to solve it.

PERSIA, THE KEYSTONE. *The Round Table,* London. December, 1952. pp. 28-40.

Examines Anglo-Persian relations since 1946 and shows why they worsened so markedly in 1951.

SONDERVOLLMACHTEN FUER MOSSADEGH. Wolfgang Lentz. *Zeitschrift fuer Geo-Politik,* Heidelberg. November, 1952. pp. 680-697.

Describes the many Iranian influences working on the ex-Premier.

SYRIA AND THE WEST TO-DAY. J. M. Cook. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. January, 1953. pp. 37-46.

This strategically located country must be persuasively led to believe that the West will benefit it more than will Russia.

VII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN WEST PAKISTAN. F. Emmerich, O.F.M. *Worldmission,* New York. Spring, 1953. pp. 54-61.

The need for good schools is paramount since most of the numerous converts come from the depressed classes and are quite uneducated.

THE DECLINE AND SURVIVAL OF CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA. G. Francis S. Gray. *The International Review of Missions,* London. October, 1953. pp. 398-407.

THE PROTESTANT MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA. Winburn T. Thomas. *The International Review of Missions,* London. July, 1953. pp. 297-305.

Describes the effort to combat sectarianism and secularism and to discourage the trend towards believing one religion as good as another.

THE WORK OF THE GOSPEL IN IRAN. *World Dominion and the World To-Day,* London. May-June, 1953. pp. 141-144.